

THE BOOKE  
OF HONOR  
and Armes.



AT LONDON,  
Printed by *Richard Ihones*, dwelling at the signe of  
the Rose and Crowne neere Holburne  
Conduit. 1590.



OF THE  
HONOR  
AND ANTIQ



AT LONDON  
Printed by R. D. B. in the Strand  
the Book and Crown Press  
London 1800





# THE BOOKE OF HONOR and Armes.

*Wherein is discoursed the  
causes of Quarrell, and the na-  
ture of Iniuries, with  
their repulses.*

*Also the meanes of satisfac-  
tion and pacification; with di-  
uers other things necessarie to  
be knowne of all Gentlemen  
and others professing  
Armes and Honor.*

*Fortes & magnanimi sunt habendi,  
non qui faciunt, sed qui propulsant  
iniuriam.*











TO THE RIGHT HO-  
norable Sir Christopher Hatton,  
*Knight of the most noble Order, and*  
Lord Chancellor of England:

Richard Ihones *Printer, wisheth long life,*  
*with encrease of happinesse.*



*R*ight Honorable, the ma-  
nifold testimonies of your  
loue both vnto Honor  
and Armes, haue induced  
me to think the first sight  
of this small booke doth of  
right belong vnto your  
Lordship, being by the due degrees of vertue as-  
cended to that place, which among others in  
this Realme, is (and long hath been) reputed  
most honorable. To your L. therefore I humblie  
dedicate the same, as vnto him, that by censure  
of our Soueraigne, with the applause of people,  
hath in hand the consideration of actions ap-  
perteining to equitie, Honor and Justice. The  
A propertie



## The Epistle Dedicatorie.

propertie of which vertue (as Cicero saith) is to foresee that no violence be offered, but onlie by him that with iniurie is thereunto provoked: and that things common should bee commonlie used, and priuate things priuatlie enioyed. By which rule appeareth, that vertue alloweth iust reuenge, and admitteth the defence of propertie and right. But for that your Lordship hath been as well an actor in Armes, as a knower of what is due to Honor, I omit to say more, either of the one or the other: beseeching your good Lordship to pardon my boldnesse, and take in acceptable wise the entent of the Author, who both by election and obligation acknowledgeth himself yours.

Your Lordships euer to  
commaund:

Richard Ihones.





*To the Reader.*



HE cause of all Quarrell is Iniurie and reproach, but the matter of content, is Iustice and Honor. For loue whereof, we shun no care of minde, losse of wealth, nor aduventure of life. Hereof proceedeth all disputation in Schooles, pleading in lawe, warre, and all worldlie wrangling. For who so is either in deede or opinion, perswaded to haue truth and reason on his side, doth not onlie constantlie beleue that so it is, but also being thereof denied, holdeth himselfe iniured, and consequently burthened. True it is, that the Christian lawe willeth men to be of so perfect patience, as not onlie to indure iniurious words, but also quietlie to suffer cuerie force and violence. Notwithstanding, forsomuch as none (or verie fewe men) haue attained such perfection, the lawes of all Nations, for auoyding further inconueniences, and the manifestation of truth, haue (among many other trials) permitted, that such questions as could not bee ciuilie prooued by confession, witnesse, or other circumstances, should receiue iudgement by fight and Combat, supposing that GOD (who onelie knoweth the secret  
A 2 thoughts



### *To the Reader.*

thoughts of all men) would giue victorie to him that iustlie aduentured his life, for truth, Honor, and Iustice.

Seeing then that al humaine lawes haue permitted the triall of Armes, and that euerie iniurious action not repulsed, is by common consent of all Martiall mindes holden a thing dishonorable, infamous, and reproachfull; it cannot be, but at some times and occasions such questions and quarrels shall arise, as necessarilie must receiue triall by the Sword. And *Cicero* saith, that hee who repulseth not an iniurie, being able, offendeth no lesse, than if he had abandoned his friends, parents and countrie. By these reasons appeareth that the triall by Armes is not onlie naturall, but also necessarie and allowable. Notwithstanding, for that the vulgar sort (and many right noble also) be ignorant what are the true causes requiring triall of Armes, and what words or deedes are of such qualitie as ought bee repulsed or reuenged; I haue at the earnest requests and often desires of verie honorable friends (by way of abreuiation) reduced into this small volume, all causes of Quarrell or Combat, the nature of Iniuries and repulses, the equalitie and disqualitie of men, who may bee challenged, and for what respects Challenges ought bee refused: with many other things in matter of Honor and Armes worthie to be knowne and considered.

And albeit I am not ignorant that publique Combats are in this age either rarelie or neuer graunted; yet for that (as is before said) no prouidence can preuent the questions and quarrels that daylie happen among Gentlemen and others professing Armes, it shall



*To the Reader.*

shall not be amisse, but rather behouefull that all men should be fullie informed what iniurie is, and how to repulse it, when to fight, when to rest satisfied, what is Honor and good reputation, how it is gained, and by what meanes the same is kept & preserved; which was the respect that the Earle *Balthazar Castilio* in his booke of the Courtier, doth among other qualities requireable in a gentleman, specially aduise he should bee skilfull in the knowing of Honor, and causes of quarrell. This booke doth not incite men to vnadvised fight, or needles reuenge (as some simple wit may surmize) but enformeth the true meanes how to shunne all offences: or being offended, sheweth the order of reuenge and repulse, according vnto Christian knowledge and due respect of Honor.

And for that the dignitie of Knighthood apperteineth chieflie to Martiall merite, I haue thought fit brieflie to touch the original thereof: declaring how many Orders or degrees of Knights were in times past, and of them, how many yet extant.

We haue not in this worke medled with Armo-  
rie, or blazing of Badges; but chieflie touched mat-  
ters offenciue to reputation and Honor, whereof  
Combat or particular triall of Armes ought to ensue.  
If ought els is looked for, it may bee taken from the  
learned. *Tractant Fabrilis fabri.*

FINIS.



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FINIS.





# THE BOOKE OF Honor and Armes.

*What a Combat is, and the originall  
thereof.*

## CAP. I.



COMBAT, is a single fight of one man against another, for trial of truth, either els of diuers men, as two, foure, sixe, tenne, or more, equallie and indifferentlie agreed vpon, to fight on horsbacke or foot without aduantage, in number of persons, or disequalitie of weapons.

These kind of fights seeme to be first vsed of great Princes, who desiring to end publique Contention and warre, did mutuallie consent to determine the same by their owne priuate vertue and aduenture of life, as did *Golias* and *Dauid*, the *Horatij* and *Curiatij*, with diuers other, who fighting onlie in person, for the publique cause, therby saued the effusion of much bloud, and the liues of many most worthie Captaines and valiant Soldiers. And albeit the cause and occasion of these Combats, was publique respect, yet each particular Gentleman or other person professing Ho-

B

nor



nor and Armes, ought sufficientlie bee moued there-  
vnto for defence of his owne particular reputation;  
which respect, and haplie also some publique occa-  
sion, mooued the Combat of *Aeneas* with *Turnus*, of  
*Menelaus* with *Alexander*, of *Pulsius* with *Varenius*, of  
*Robert Mountfort*, with *Henrie Earle of Essex* in *Eng-  
land*: yea, Kings and Princes haue of late time done  
the like, as *Charles* the third, King of *France*, with the  
King of *Hungarie*, *Alfonso* King of *Spaine*, with *Rich-  
ard* Earle of *Cornwall*, and King *Alfonso* with King  
*Ranier*.

These particular fights were first vsed among the  
people called *Lombardes*, as appeareth by the lawes  
written by *Aliprandus* one of the Kings that gouer-  
ned that Nation: yet true it is, that the Combats of  
those People, and in that Age, were tried with no o-  
ther weapons but onelie certeine shields and staues  
of wood, vnlesse it were for cause of infidelitie. Nei-  
ther seemeth it that the chiefe occasion of their fight  
was respect of Honor, nor that the vanquished should  
become dishonored, or Prisoner vnto the vanquisher,  
as since hath been vsed.

*Of the order of challenging and de-  
fending.*

C A P. 2.

**F**irst is to bee considered, that all Iniuries are ei-  
ther by words or by deeds, and that in euerie In-  
iurie by words, the Iniurer ought bee the Chal-  
lenger: but in an Iniurie by deedes, the Iniured ought  
to challenge, as for example. *Simon* saith to *Austen*,  
thou



thou art a *Traitor*. *Austen* answereth, *Thou liest* : then doth it behooue *Simon* to mainteine his words, and consequentlie to challenge *Austen* to the Combat.

An Iniurie by deedes is thus. *Simon* giueth a hurt, a cut, or other violence vnto *Austen*; whereat offended, he saith, *Thou hast done me offence, violence, iniurie, or such like speach*. *Simon* answereth, *Thou liest*. Then behoueth it that *Austen* do challenge *Simon*, and force him by fight to mainteine the hurt he offred. Wherefore as a rule or *maxime* in matter of Honor, it is speciallie to be noted, that whosoever is truelie and lawfullie belied, must of force become Challenger to mainteine that he spake or did, and wherevpon the Lie is giuen him.

And although some men, rather to shewe the dexteritie of their wits, than the valour of their mindes, will at such occasion vse many superfluous words, whereby further speach of offence doth followe, and so take opportunitie to giue the Lie vnto whom the hurt by hand was giuen; yet the true and precise reason of Honor is, that he who gaue the blowe & hurt, should without further dispute be challenged, vnlesse he denie the doing thereof with offer of satisfaction. Thus appeareth brieflie, that whosoever is lawfullie belied, ought by Armes to challenge, mainteine, and proue that which he affirmed or did, in preiudice of the honor or person of the Iniured.



*For what cause the partie belied ought to challenge, and of the nature of the Lie.*

C A P. 3.

**F**OR so much as in ordinarie triall by lawe, and ciuill Iudgements, whosoever standeth accused; by deniall of such accusation, is free from condemning vntill further prooffe be made: euen so in euerie imposition by speach, contrarie to good reputation; honor or honestie, ought either by ciuill or martiall meanes be maintained and auowed. Therefore, who soeuer being offered iniurious speach, shall say to the offerer thereof *Thou liest*, or thou saiest not truelie, doth therby repulse the iniurie, and force the Iniurer to challenge. And euerie deniall be it neuer so simple, importeth a Lie, & is of like effect, although the manner in pronouncing deniall onlie, is an answer more friendlie and courteous, than the qualitie of an iniurious imposition requireth.

And although the manner of denials are diuers, as *Thou liest*, *Thou saiest vntruelie*, &c. yet euerie deniall is a repulse of iniurie, being spoken to that which was iniurie: But if the same be vttered in answer of any words, wherein was no offence, the same becommeth iniurious: as thus. If I tell or say any thing without euill imposition to any person, and one standing by, shall say I speake vntruelie, or vse other deniall of that my speach affirmed; by that manner of speach he giueth me an imputation of a Lier, & consequentlie offereth me iniurie. Moreouer, for that euerie iniurie by words may for once be wrested, it is  
lawfull



lawfull for me, with euerie my deniall to repulse that iniurie, and my second deniall containeth the effect of a Lie, and his first, the force of iniurie; by which meane, the burthen shall rest vpon him. But if so it be, that he answereth or saith, *The truth is otherwise*, or any other such speech, that cannot bee iniurious, nor shall any waies burthen me, vnlesse I shall in some iniurious sort replie, and then he denying, may lay the burthen vpon me: for the difference that maketh one word sometimes iniurious, and sometimes not, is, that the same is sometimes spoken iniuriouſlie, and sometimes not, as thus. If I say vnto another man, *Thou saiest not true*, thereby I reprove him, and consequentlie offer iniurie: but if I say, *That which thou saiest is not true*, that speech is not iniurious, and may be without burthen of him vnto whom it is spoken.

Yet in one case, that rule faileth: for if I say, such a thing I haue done, another answereth, *That is not true*: by so saying, he doth burthen me. To conclude I say, that whosoever refraineth with his words and speech to offend others, he can by no meanes receiue the Lie.

*Of the nature and diuersitie of Lies.*

CAP. 4.

**B**Vt for the more plaine conceiuing of the nature and diuersitie of Lies, wee will particularlie discourse thereof, and shewe how many sorts of them be, how they are to bee giuen, and in what sort they are to be answered. It is therefore to be knowne that of Lies, some be Conditionall, and some be Cer-



teine : and of both them, some be Generall and some Speciall. To these may bee also added one third kind, which we will call Vaine Lies.

*Of Lies certaine.*

C A P. 5.

**W**E call those *Lies certaine*, which are giuen vpon words spoken and affirmed; as if I should say or write vnto another man, *Thou hast spoken in preiudice of mine honor, honestie and credite, and therefore doest lie.* This may be called a Lie certaine, because I stand certeinlie assured that such a man hath spoken euill of me: yet true it is, that because I doo not in these words particularlie expresse the matter or speach whervpon I giue the Lie, therefore it shall be reputed a *Lie generall*, and consequently of no force: For indeed no Lie is lawfull, vnlesse the matter and words wherevpon it is giuen bee plainlie and expresselie repeated. Therefore the Lies which are giuen vpon certaine and apparant words, are they which in truth do bind the partie belied vnto prooffe, vnlesse he can denie to haue spoken that wherevpon the Lie is giuen him, and the forme thereof is thus. Harman, *thou hast said that at the Battaille of Montcontour I abandoned mine Ensigne, and cowardly ranne away: wherevnto I answered, Thou hast lied.* By this apparant and particular expression of that was said, the Lie giuen is made Speciall, and consequentlie lawfull.

of



Of Lies Conditionall.

CAP. 6.

**C**ONDITIONALL lies, wee call those which are vttered vpon condition, as if a man should say thus: *If thou hast called me a theefe, thou dost lie: or if thou shalt hereafter so say, thou liest: And how often thou hast or shalt so say, so oft I say thou hast and shalt lie.* These Conditionall lies in this sort giuen, are the occasion oftentimes of much disputation, because they are not in force vntill such time as the Condition is verified, I meane, vntil it be auowed that such words haue indeede been spoken. For he vnto whom such a Lie is giuen either by words or writing, as he findeth himselfe guiltie or not, so may hee make answere; and hauing haplie spoken such words, he may in vsing generall words find an euasion: yea the debating of such a Conditional quarrell may be so handled, as he who gaue the Lie conditionall, shall vtter some speach whereon to receiue a Lie certeine. If therefore he who is charged with a Lie conditional, haue not indeed said that wherewith he is charged, then ought he say, *I neuer spake any such thing,* & thereunto adde another Lie, either Generally or Conditionallie vttered thus. *Whosoever saith that I haue spoken such words, he lieth:* or thus. *If thou or any man els will affirme I haue so said, thou liest.*

Albeit this maner of proceeding from one Lie to another, and from one Condition to another, doth feldome occasion other effect than the multiplying of words: yet doo we often see that questions are so handled,



handled, and consequentlie no good or honorable resolution dooth followe. Wherefore to auoide all doubts, it behoueth Gentlemen and other persons of honor or credite, to shunne all Conditionall lies, and before he doth offer the Lie, either by confession of the partie or witnesse worthie credite, bee assured he hath cause to giue the Lie. So shal the Lie be certeine, and the belied forced, either to denie that he said, or stand to the iustification thereof.

*Of Lies generall.*

C A P. 7.

**A**Lie generall may bee in two sorts, in respect of the person, and in respect of the iniurie. The Lie is generall in respect of the Person, when no man to whom it is giuen is named, as thus. *Who euer hath said that I haue been a Rebelle to my Prince, doth lie.* To this manner of Lie no man is bound to make answer, because many may haplie haue so said, and that so being, he that giueth the Lie should be forced to fight with them all, which were inconuenient. For it is vnlawfull vpon one quarrell to fight oftner than once, and vnfit that one man should hazard his reputation vpon the sword of another man. Wherefore to remooue such disorders, it hath been thought good that this kind of Lie should bee vnlawfull, of none effect, and disallowed.

Touching the other Lie which we call general in respect of the iniurie, is thus. *Simon, thou hast said euill of me, and spoken words in preiudice of mine honestie, and therefore I say thou liest.* This manner of Lie, not being  
giuen



giuen vpon any matter certaine, or words speciallie repeated, is to none effect: and therefore if hee who giueth such a Lie, intendeth to make a iust quarrell, it behoueth him to set downe in writing, the verie words whervpon he giueth the Lie. For besides that, such lies doo not bind the aduerse partie, they are also perilous, and apt to be returned. I say therefore that forsomuch as a Lie generall is of small effect, & therewith fit to bee wrested against the giuer thereof, it ought of all Gentlemen to be vtterlie refrained.

*Of Lies speciall.*

## CAP. 8.

**L**ies speciall are those which are giuen vnto speciall persons, and vpon expresse and particular matter: as for example, Gregorie, *thou hast said that vpon the day of Battaile at Grauling, I abandoned mine Ensigne and charge; for which saying thou hast lied.* This is that Lie which (as is before said) I call a Lie certain & lawful; yet is it to be intended that he who giueth this Lie either by word or writing, ought first to be enformed fullie, and haue sufficient prooffe and witnesse of that he saith, so as the same cannot be denied. For wanting due proues, he to whom the Lie was giuen, may answere, that I lie in charging him with such words as he neuer vttered, and in that case it shall behoue me to proue the reproach wherewith I haue charged him: but if hee cannot denie that wherewith he is charged, then must he either mainteine his speach, or confesse the fault.

Here is to be noted, that in such quarells wherein

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manifest



manifest falshood and vntruth appeareth, no Prince ought to permit any Combat : neither ought Gentlemen be ashamed in such cases to refuse the fight ; because it is a thing more honorable for respect of reason to refuse Combat, than performe the same without cause or obligation. Seeing then that this sort of Lie, whereof we presentlie entreate, is onlie true and lawfull ; therefore it behoueth Gentlemen, and all others professing Honor and Armes, therewith to giue repulse vnto such iniuries as are offered : and desiring to shewe the cause of their offence either by word or writing, they must so plainlie and sincerelie set downe the intent thereof, as no part of the affirmation can bee either denied or wrested to other sense than it was vttered or written, whereby afterwards no doubt shall arise, who ought to challenge, and who to defend.

*Of Vaine Lies.*

C A P. 9.

**T**He simple & ignorant sort of men perswading themselves, that he vnto whom the Lie is giuen, doth thereby lose the election of the weapon ; therefore ignorantlie and foolishlie they giue the Lie, before they either knowe or aske the question wherefore they so doo : as thus. *If thou wilt not say I am an honest man, thou liest in thy throate*: the follie of which speach doth plainlie appeare. For seeing the Lie is nothing els but an answer, in this the order of nature is changed, & the answer vttered before the question asked. Another sort of ignorant quarrellers are,



are, that will say thus. *If any man hath said euill of me, hee hath lied : and if hee will denie to haue so said, hee also lieth.* This sillie sort of quarrelling, may likewise be called a Lie foolish and vaine : for hee who shall vse such words, doth thereby take vppon him both to propound and to answere, and consequentlie performe the office aswell of Defender as Challenger.

Another sort of these Vaine lies are thus offered : *Simon meeting with Lewes saith, Draw thy weapon, and I will presentlie prooue thee a Liar and a Varlet : Or if thou wilt not drawe, then art thou a Varlet also.* This manner of Lie is without foundation, cause or reason, & therefore meete to be laughed at. Others there are, who being charged to commit dishonest actions, do for the present time depart without making either deniall or answere ; but after hauing assembled a number of friends weaponed with aduantage, saith to him that charged him, *Thou liest* : which manner of doing is also cowardlie and foolish. For as euerie accusation or imputation ought be done without aduantage, euen so euerie answere without aduantage, ought be vttered. Also euerie Iniurie offered in presence, should likewise in presence be answered : and if in absence any such wrong bee done, in absence an answere may be made. Finallie, vnto matter of iniurie in writing, the answere ought bee framed in writing : yet is it reason, that if a man armed or accompanied doo offer euill speach or violence to him that is vnarmed and alone ; in that case it shall be lawfull to make answere at time more conuenient. But if so be that any man finding and knowing me better armed, accompanied, or prepared than himselfe, will neuer-



theles offer me iniurie; in that case it is lawfull for me by words or deedes to repulse the iniurie, and bee reuenged notwithstanding mine aduantage, because it was his follie to offer offence, seeing my strength. But Gentlemen should euer so doo, as the Lie may be no lesse or more honorablie giuen, than the iniurie was offered.

One other aduantage in offering iniurie may be in this sort. If any man shall offer the same in place of priuiledge, or in presence of the Prince; in that case it hath been thought fit that no Lie or other repulse should be. Neuerthelesse, it seemeth reasonable, that if it pleaseth the Prince to know that I am in his presence or Court iniured, that it may also please him that I may defend my selfe. Yet true it is, that in such places it becommeth the Iniured to temper his answer, and vse words of reuerence, and the rather if he who offereth the iniurie bee a person of more respect and fauour with the Prince before whom the iniurie was offered, Howsoeuer it be, I take not vpon me to informe what ought in such case to bee done, but tell mine opinion as that which I thinke to bee honorable: whereunto I adde, that wise Princes wil more patientlie indure the repulse, than the offer of Iniurie in their presence.



*Whether to a man Iniured in presence of a Prince, it sufficeth to answere in presence of priuate Gentlemen.*

C A P. IO.

**H**Auing in the former Chapter spoken of Iniurie offered in the Princes presence, it seemeth not vnneccessarie to knowe how such offence is to be repulsed or reuenged. For as it is not easie to haue opportunitie to make repulse before the Prince; so were it also fit to vse respect before persons of so high estate & calling, as heretofore hath been alleadged. But for the more btiefe deciding of this question, I will onelie produce the censure of *Don Francisco Maria* Duke of *Vrbino*, which was to this effect. That Princes either through their attention to other weightie affaires, or their seldome experience in trial of Armes, were no lesse, or more ignorant, than other Gentlemen of meane reputation. And therefore concluded, that to an Iniurie offered in the presence of a Prince, it sufficed to make answere before priuate Gentlemen, as persons vnto whom the knowledge and experience of Armes and Honor apperteined: Such was the opinion of that Duke, a Prince in his life and place reputed no lesse skilfull in poynts of Honor, than all other waies vertuous. Whereunto may be added, that in matter of Armes, al Emperours, King and Princes, haue euer vouchsafed to be called by the name of Gentlemen and Soldiers. And therefore it standeth with good reason, that an answere



made in the presence of Gentlemen and Soldiers, should be of vertue sufficient to repulse an Iniurie offered before a Prince of what title so euer.

*Of the Returne of Lies.*

C A P. II.

**H**eretofore wee haue said, that hee vnto whom the Lie is giuen for a repulse of iniurie, ought be the Challenger : yet for more certeintie of that saying, wee are diligentlie to examine what sort of Lies are lawfull. It is therefore to be vnderstood, that the true and proper nature of the Lie, is to repulse Iniurie, and whensoever it worketh not that effect, it becommeth Iniurie, and by another Lie may bee returned. Also it is to bee noted, that in one selfesame quarrell aswell vnto a Deniall as an Affirmation, the Lie may bee giuen. The Lie lawfullie giuen vnto an affirmation is that, whereof we haue before spoken, as thus. One man saith vnto another, *He is a Rebelle to his Prince* : He answereth, *Thou liest* : and this kind of Lie cannot bee auoyded, because it is giuen for repulse vnto an infamie directly offered. But if I, speaking of other do say, *He is an honest man*, and one standing by, doth giue mee the Lie : in that case the Lie shall not be reputed a repulse, but an Iniurie ; and it is lawfull for me to say, that gainfaying the commendation I gaue, *he lieth* ; because he encountereth my affirmation, and seemeth to denie that all men are holden honest, til profe be made of the contrarie. Wherefore it behoueth him that denied the man to bee honest, to prooue such deniall : in the meane time he is burthened



burthened and bound to challenge me.

But let vs now speake of Lies giuen vpon the negatiue which are either lawfull, or may lawfullie bee returned : as if any man doth say of me, *That in such a seruice of Armes I had not done my duetie*, and I should answere with the Lie, that shall be a lawfull answere. Yet if a man shall say, *That he hath not failed of fidelitie vnto his Prince*, and I say he lieth; then is it lawful for him to answere, *Thou liest in saying I lie*, and consequentlie force me to challenge; because in affirming his owne fidelitie he doth not iniurie to any man: but I denying thereof, doo greatlie wrong him, and therfore reasonable the Lie to be returned vpon me. Now it resteth to produce some example, how in one selfesame quarrell, both vpon the affirmatiue and negatiue the Lie may be giuen, so as neither the one nor the other partie hath apparant place of repulse, as in this case.

Two Gentlemen being in the field prepared to fight, do there fall into disputation, whether the weapons be lawfull or not: by meane whereof, the day is spent in speach, and nothing done. Herevpon a question grewe whether the weapons were reasonable refused or not, the one by affirming them to be lawfull, doth burthen the other, and he by denying them to be lawful, doth burthen him; so as it resteth doubtful who ought to challenge.

Thus much touching the nature of Lies, how they are to be offered, repulsed, or returned. A matter of some difficultie to be vnderstood, yet necessarie to be knowne of all Gentlemen.



*How vpon euerie Lie, the triall of Armes is not necessarie.*

CAP. 12.

**A**Lbeit heretofore hath been said, that he who receiueth the Lie ought to bee Challenger, yet is not our meaning that vpon euerie Lie giuen, the triall of the sword should forthwith followe. For seeing the triall by Armes is incerteine, and the ciuill trial assured, therefore it behoueth euerie Gentleman to be iustified rather by this, than the other triall. And indeed it is no lesse expedient for Gentlemen and all others professing Armes, to knowe when to put vp, than when to drawe their weapons. Who so therefore vpon any affirmation shall bee lawfullie and orderlie offered the Lie (hauing meanes to make such prooffe) ought by ciuill and reasonable triall make iustification, and not take sword in hand, till necessitie so enforceth, and he who findeth himselfe offered a-  
nie vniust or vnlawfull Lie, may either trauerse it, or vtterlie disdain it.

*Of the forme of a Cartell or Letter of Defiance.*

CAP. 13.

**I**N such places as publique Combats were permitted by Princes, the custome was that the parties agreed to fight, should challenge one the other, by some instrument in writing, which they commonlie called a *Cartel*: but that custome being now discontinued,



tinued, he who challengeth doth send some Letter to that effect, which ought bee framed in brieft termes, and thereby to expresse in short and proper words the effect of the quarrell and iniurie, bee it in words or deeds. Also to set downe expresse the particularities of the matter, the persons, the times, & places, which for the true expressing of the cause are required, to the end the aduerse partie may the better determine of his answer. And for that Combat is a kinde of Iudgement, it behoueth no lesse therein, than in ciuill triall that particular prooues & circumstances should be expressed, & that he who challengeth should summon his aduersarie, and he that is Defender produce the Lie.

In this writing it also behooueth to vse al plainnes of words & phrases, leauing aside eloquence and ambiguity of speach; for it sufficeth a man being offered any iniurious speach, doo say, *Thou liest*, without adding any word thereunto. It is also to bee knowne, that the Defender ought haue the electiō of the place and weapon. For no reason were it that I should both challenge another man, and also appoynt him to fight with what weapon pleaseth me. One thing I thinke good more to aduertise, that it seemeth vnto mee a thing verie honest, and worthie a Gentleman, that all speeches and writings of or to an Enemy, should bee in good and honorable termes; for thereby the speaker or writer shal honor himselfe, and declare he hath to doo with a person of reputation; for otherwise he shall disgrace his owne iudgement, in meddling with men vnworthie, and such as are vnfit to be regarded.





# THE SECOND BOOKE.

## *Of Iniurie and Burthen.*

### CAP. I.



WE haue alreadye discoursed what Iniurie is, and how the same ought be repulsed: now is to be informed in what cases Princes and supreme Gouvernours may graunt or denie the triall of Combat. I say therefore, that the office of euerie Prince moued to graunt Combat, is first to consider the nature and qualitie of the quarrell, to the end he may assuredlie know whether it be of such importance as requireth the triall of the sword, and cannot otherwise be determined. For it is a rule certaine, that euerie question or quarrell that may be decided by ciuil authoritie and prooues, ought not in any wise bee tried in Combat. But for more particular knowledge of this matter, you shall vnderstand, that we call an act done contrarie to reason, *Iniurie*, or (as some do terme it) *Offence* or *Wrong*: and the Burthen, is a certaine naturall obligation, whereby a man standeth bound to repulse or mainteine the matter in question. Wherefore, whensoever



euer we see a man burthened or charged, it is presentlie and consequentlie looked for, that he ought to be a Challenger. It is also to bee knowne, that otherwhiles one man may doo vnto another such an act as may be both an Iniurie, and a Burthen: so may also an Iniurie bee done without Burthen, and a Burthen without Iniurie.

An Iniurie ioyned with Burthen is thus. If a man shall charge me with an euill fact neuer by me committed, whereby (contrarie to all reason) he seeketh my slander, hereby he offereth me Iniurie, and the Burthen he laieth vpon me, is, for that I stand bound to repulse and make answere vnto such outrageous words, and consequentlie am forced to answere, *He lieth*, whereby I am disburthened, & lay the burthen on him, by which meane I become discharged of mine obligation, and binde him vnto the prooffe and mainteining of his words, which is to mainteine and be a Challenger. And in handling the matter, this is to bee noted, that I onlie doo burthen him without offer of Iniurie, because I make this answere vpon a iust and reasonable cause, onlie with intent to lay the Burthen on him.

An Iniurie without Burthen is in two sorts, *viz.* in word or in deed, as thus. If one man shall charge another in word, with that which is manifestlie false; in that case it is not necessarie to make any answere at all, because he who speaketh such words, proueth himselfe an apparant Liar, and therefore not worthie of so much respect as to bee answered; so are those words Iniurie, but no Burthen. An Iniurie in deedes without Burthen, is, when one man offereth vnto an



other violence with aduantage, or in such euill sort, as the fact appeareth to bee done contrarie to honor and reason; in that case, to what purpose should the Iniured challenge the Iniurer? seeing the matter to be plaine and apparant. But haplie it may bee said by him that is iniured, *Shall I rest without reuenge?* Therevnto may bee answered by Princes, or others hauing authoritie to graunt Combat, that to admit triall by Armes is onlie lawfull for the finding out and iustification of truth; but the punishment of wilfull acts contrarie to peace, is by ciuill authoritie to be performed. And in mine opinion, whosoeuer receiueth an Iniurie in deedes dishonorable offered, is thereby neither dishonored nor burthened: and for reuenge of such cowardlie and beastiall offences, it is allowable to vse any aduantage or subtiltie, according to the Italian prouerbe, *Ad vna supercheria, si conuiene vn'altra supercheria, & ad vn tradimento vn altro tradimento*, which is, that one aduantage requireth another, and one treason may be with another acquitted.

*How shamefull and dishonorable it is to offer iniurie with aduantage, and cowardly.*

C A P. 2.

**I**T may seeme straunge that heretofore wee haue said, that a traiterous Iniurie might be in like sort reuenged; yet is it verie reasonable that so it should be: and though it were not, yet doth he that offereth such an Iniurie incurre apparant Infamie, without burthening him vnto whom it is offered. For what reason can mainteine that any man should bee wor-  
thie



thie of Infamie, that was by another cowardlie and fodeinlie hurt or stricken? Nay, who is he that will not blame him that offereth such an Iniurie, and acquite him vnto whom it was done? To conclude therefore, I say, the Infamie is due vnto him that willfullie doth a dishonorable wrong, not to him that receiueth it: for no man wanteth power to refraine a wicked action, no man wanteth power to performe his promise, no man is forced to be a traitor: & therefore, whosoever falleth into any such fault, becometh odious and infamous: besides that, in offending cowardlie, he seemeth to want vertue and courage required in a Gentleman. By ancient custome it hath therefore been determined, that if any man hauing committed such cowardlie and foule facts, shal afterwards challenge another Gentleman, he may in respect of the Infamie due for his former doings, bee lawfullie refused.

I will also aduise all Gentlemen to eschue one other vile and euill abuse, which is thus. A man hauing offered iniurious words, and is lawfully belied, he may not with a cowardlie stroake or touch of a cudgill, or any such like meanes, thinke to bee acquitted of the burthen, as some men haue supposed; yet the vulgar sort do thinke that to giue a blowe, or spit in the face of a man, and runne away, dischargeth a lawfull Lie, which is farre otherwise. Mine opinion therefore is, that a man directlie is not discharged by any such act, but standeth still burthened to prooue that affirmation, whereupon the Lie was giuen him, and consequentlie must challenge.



*That euerie Lie giuen, ought not to occasion  
Combat.*

## CAP. 3.

**F**Orsomuch as the Lie is not indeede the cause of fight, but the occasion; it is not necessarie that vppon euerie Lie giuen, Combat should foorthwith followe. For if the fault wherewith a man is accused, bee not such as requires triall in Armes, than doth not the Lie giuen thereupon bind him, because the qualitie of the Iniurie and not of the Lie is to bee respected. Therefore in euerie lawe whereby Combats are permitted, the causes are expresse and particularlie declared, as both by the lawe of *Lombardie* and the *Emperial* constitutions appeareth.

*For what causes the Combat is to be  
graunted.*

## CAP. 4.

**A**Thing most certeine it is, that to reduce the ancient customes to the vse of present time, were not onelie hard and difficult, but also impossible: wherefore omitting to tell of what hath been, we will onelie speake of that which ought be in this matter obserued: I say then that the causes of al quarrell whervpon it behoueth to vse the triall of Armes, may be reduced into two: for it seemeth to me not reasonable, that any man should expose himselfe to the perill of death, saue onelie for such occasions as doo deserue death. Wherefore whensoever one man  
doth



doth accuse another of such a crime as meriteth death, in that case the Combat ought bee graunted. The second cause of Combat is Honor, because among persons of reputation, Honor is preferred before life. Therefore whensoever any such crime is imputed, as by the ciuill lawe is iudged infamous, the Combat and triall of Armes ought be allowed, if by ciuill and ordinarie course of law it cannot.

*How betweene Padrins, no fight or quarrell ought to be.*

C A P. 5.

**A**T such time as publique Combats were by Princes permitted, the custome was, that those vnto whom the field was graunted, did bring with them certeine friends to behold the fight, and see that nothing were done contrarie to the agreement and capitulation. For what cause these men were so called I knowe not ; but some haue thought the name of *Padrine* commeth of the latin word *Pater*, which signifieth father, or of *Patrini*, which signifieth a person, vnto whose charge or tuition another was commended. Howsoever it be, these *Padrines* in the time of Combat, performed the same office which *Advocates* and *Pleaders* vse in disputation of ciuill causes. And as they doo not vse to pay any part of that, wherein the client is condemned, euen so no reason bindeth that the *Padrine* should fight, or bee called to performe more than the due of his office, sith the Iniuries, the Lies, the Cartels and Defiances are passed betweene the Principalls, and the *Padrines*



*Padrins* ought doo none otherwise than as Aduocates. Thus much I thought fit to speake of the office of *Padrins*, because it is oft seene, both in publique Combats and priuate also, that some Gentlemen being chosen to behold the fight, and see it bee equallie performed, haue not onelie been the cause to kindle newe quarrell, but also entred therein to themselues contrarie to honor and reason.

*Of Armes both offensive and defensive.*

C A P. 6.

**I**T hath been before said, that by the lawe of *Lombardie*, euerie Combat (vnlesse vpon quarrell of infidelitie) should bee tried with shields and staues, and with no other weapon. But the matter of their Combats was onlie for trial of truth, without respect of honor. Howsoeuer it were, besides that custome must bee receiued for lawe, it seemeth to me that either in publique or priuate fight, such weapons ought bee vsed as are commonlie worne of Gentlemen and others professing Armes. And touching Armes defensive, it hath been also the vse, that as they are thought allowable in warre and all generall fights, so in particular triall of Armes, they ought not bee reiect-  
 ed; because *Fortitude* accompanied with *Prudence*, is much the more commendable, seeing he that vnwiselie or inconsideratlie aduentureth himselfe, is not to bee reputed valiant but furious: neither is he accompted valiant, that without counsell or cause, delighteth in dangers, but he that neuer doth shunne any generous action, tending to publique benefite or  
 his



his owne priuate reputation. And *Aristotle* saith, that a valiant man doth neither feare all things, nor dare doo all things. For these respects it hath euer been thought fit, that in particular Combats, the fighters should be allowed Armes defensue, & not performe the same naked and vtterlie disarmed, with swords and daggers onlie, as is in this part of the world now vsed. And sith the perill of life is no lesse in particular than in publique fight, it seemeth verie reasonable that defensue Armes should bee allowed; yet so as both the Challenger and Defender be equallie armed & weaponed, which in truth ought be at the election of the Defendant, as heretofore hath been discoursed. But because the custome of the land is (and hap- pelie also lawe forbiddeth that any man should be armed saue onlie in the warre) I thinke no Gentleman ought refuse to fight disarmed. And here will I not omit to remember an abuse which hardlie is discontinued, I meane that some English Gentlemen are so obstinatlie addicted to custome, as notwithstanding they doo themselves enter quarrell and bee Challengers, yet will they vse that sort of weapon onelie which pleaseth themselves. An opinion contrary vn- to reason, and the vse of all other people, as though antient vse made that weapon only allowable, which reason will also prooue *Vice* as good as *Vertue*, be- cause it is no lesse antient.



*Of the election of the weapons.*

CAP. 7.

**F**OR good and reasonable causes, many aduantages are due vnto him that is challenged, because he being accused and constrained to fight, iust and true reason willeth that he should enioy al honest fauour. It hath been therefore well determined, that whosoeuer is Defender, dooth sufficientlie acquite himselfe, and ought bee reputed victorious, if he bee not victored. But on the other side, he that challengeth, must not onlie escape to be vanquished, but also vanquish his enemy; for otherwise he shall bee reputed as victored, and lose the quarrell, which is verie reasonable, because his office is to prooue, but the Defender is not bound to more than to defend.

Another fauour also apperteineth to the Defender, which is, the election of the weapon, which is also reasonable done, because if another man will voluntarilie call me to triall of the Sword, the choyce of the weapon ought of right to be mine. Yet true it is, that no Defender ought to make election of other Armes either defensiuē or offensiuē, than such as are lawfull, and worne ordinarilie by Gentlemen and Soldiers. Therewith also is to be obserued, that if the question whereupon the Combat or fight groweth, may bee decided by ciuill triall, that then no triall of Armes ought bee enterprised. Much more also may be added touching the equalitie or disequalitie of the persons that enter into fight, and likewise of the Armes aswell defensiuē as offensiuē : but because  
publique



publique Combats are now almost generallie forbidden, and in this land most rarelie vsed, I speake onlie of those things which are to bee knowne for the performance of priuate Combat and fight betweene particular Gentlemen.

*How manie waies victorie is gained.*

CAP. 8.

**A**T such time as publique Combats were vsed within a List, or place speciallie appoynted for that purpose, there was a Iudge indifferentlie chosen by the fighters, to see and determine which of them were victorious, and who was victored. But notwithstanding the discontinuance of those Ceremonies, and the performance of fight by warrant of Princes Letters Pattents; yet doo I thinke it not amisse, brieflie to set downe in what cases men were reputed victorious.

1 It is therefore to be knowne, that if the Challenger dooth not vanquish the Defender in the day of fight before the Sunne setting, he is himselfe to bee iudged vanquished, and cannot afterwards challenge any other Gentleman to the Combat. This sort of victorie and this priuiledge is onlie due vnto the Defender, all other trialls are common and indifferent to both the fighters.

2 The next kind of victorie is, when any of the fighters doth yeeld vnto his enemy, either by confessing himselfe not able to defend, to yeeld himselfe prisoner, or by vttering anie other speach tending to submission.



3 The third is, when any of them doth expresse denie or vn say that he affirmed, & the words whereon the quarrell groweth renouncing the quarrell.

4 Fourthly, hee who runneth away, and abandoneth the Lists or field where the fight is performed, ought to lose the victorie, and be adiudged as vanquished, and this is the most base and dishonorable sort of vanquishment.

5 He is also to be without victorie and vanquished, that is slaine within the Listes or field: yet is this sort of vanquishing least dishonorable and infamous, although by auncient custome, to such men as were slaine in publique Combats, no buriall was graunted among Christian bodies.

*What was auncientlie due vnto such as were victorious in publique Combats.*

C A P. 9.

**A**lbeit I am not ignorant that this discourse is little or nothing pertinent to priuat Combat or quarrell: yet for that it concerneth a matter verie pleasant to vs, & glorious for those that haue been victorious, I will brieflie set downe what was due by auncient order of Armes, vnto such Gentlemen as in publique Combat were victorious.

1 Whosoever was vanquished within the Listes, was the prisoner of him that did vanquish. To him also was due all Armes both offensive and defensive, garments and horse, with all furniture brought together either for ornament or vse.

2 The person of him that was vanquished, was by hono-



honorable custome giuen vnto the Prince of the place, or els vnto some other Prince whom he serued or loued; but this was done by vse, and not of duetie.

3 The vanquished also might be compelled to pay the charges of the vanquisher.

4 The vanquished might be forced to pay ransome no lesse, than if he had been a prisoner of the warre. But if the prisoner or vanquished did serue the vanquisher the space of fīue yeares in seruices meete for a Gentleman, than ought he bee set at libertie freelie without payment. And if in the meane time he were employed in any base act or seruice vnworthie his degree, than was it lawfull for him to escape & breake prison. Or if it happened that during the imprisonment, any land or other wealth came vnto the prisoner, yet was it not lawfull for the victorious to encrease the ransome.

5 If the victorious did die within the time that the victored was a prisoner, than should his heire haue the same title and interest.

6 If a prisoner were suffered to go at libertie vpon his faith giuen, he ought in any wise returne whensoever he was called, vnlesse the victorious did become a Traitor to their cōmon Prince, or were excommunicate, or that betweene thē were some new enmitie: for in those causes, it was lawfull not to returne.

7 If being in this sort at libertie, he happened to become a Prince or Lord, then should he not be bound to returne, but pay ransome onlie.

8 If during the time of imprisonment he were not well vsed, he was not bound to returne, yet ought he pay a conuenient ransome.



9 If the prisoner did happen to saue his taker from any great perill during the imprisonment, he ought by the lawe to be forthwith set at libertie.

## THE THIRD BOOKE.

*What sorts of men ought not bee admitted to triall of Armes.*

### CAP. I.



Orsomuch as the triall of Armes apperteineth onelie to Gentlemen, and that Gentilitie is a degree honorable, it were not fit that anie persons of meaner condition, should thereunto be admitted. Wherefore, as the Iudges of ciuill trials, doo ordinarilie reiect the testimonie of such as are accompted Infamous; euen so in Martial triall, a person honorable ought not by men of base qualitie be accused: for how can he charge another with anie crime, that hath himselfe committed an offence against his owne reputation.

1 It hath been therefore ordeined and determined, that no man hauing committed treason against his Prince or Countrie, shall be admitted.

2 He also may bee repulsed that hath had intelligence or conference with the enemye of his Prince or Countrie, or that being taken of them, doth there remaine, hauing meanes to returne vnto his Princes seruice.



3 He that becommeth a Spie or explorator for the Enemie, or that taketh an oth against his Prince, or that taketh a Princes Pay and departeth before he hath serued the full time.

4 He that abandoneth the Armie of his Prince, and fleeth vnto the Enemie, or being discharged doth go vnto the Enemie in the time of Skirmish or fight, shall be reputed as infamous, and also a Traitor.

5 He that abandoneth the Ensigne of his Prince or Capteine, or that either by day or night shall maliciouslie depart from the place of his charge about his Princes person, or in the Campe.

6 Among these we will accompt all Theeues, Beggars, Bawdes, Victuallers, persons excommunicate, Vsurers, persons banished the Armie, and euerie other man exercising an occupation or trade, vnfit and vnworthie a Gentleman or Soldier.

7 Finallie, whosoever is defamed of any notable crime, or is by the lawe of the land not admitted to beare witnesse, may bee numbered among them that lawfullie are repulsed; these men, I say, challenging any Gentleman or Soldier, ought not onelie bee refused, but of euerie honest person to bee abhorred, because in fighting with men of such condition, a man of good reputation dooth equall himselfe vnto persons vtterly vnworthie. Yet true it is, that whosoever repulseth a person for cause of Infamie, must assuredlie know, that he hath been for such crimes condemned, or at the least the same is a thing so notorious, as the partie repulsed cannot denie it. But if any such infamous man bee challenged by a Gentleman or Soldier, he may not after bee refused, vnlesse that after  
challenge



challenge he committeth some infamous fact, which is to be obserued aswell in the Challenger as the Defender.

*Whether a Bastard may challenge a Gentleman to Combat.*

CAP. 2.

**F**OR that by lawe no Bastard can inherit the lands and honors of his supposed father, it may be reasonable doubted, whether he be of such condition as may challenge a Gentleman to trial of Armes. Notwithstanding, for that such impediment proceedeth not from the Bastard himselfe, and that no man ought iustlie be repulsed sauing such as are condemned, or infamed for their owne viletie, me thinks that Bastardie ought not to disable a man to bee admitted vnto Combat: and S. *Hierome* saith, that the fault in birth of such men, is not their owne fault, but theirs that did beget them. Also *Chrisostome* writeth thus, we ought not to bee ashamed of the vice of our Parents, but endeouour our selues vnto vertue. Wherevpon wee conclude, that euerie Bastard hauing well and vertuouslie serued in the warre, or that for his good merite hath aspired to beare charge of reputation in the Armie, ought be receiued to fight with anie priuate Gentleman or Soldier, because men so borne, haue not onelie been oftentimes aduanced to honor, but they and their posteritie also, haue attained and continued in high dignitie and greatest estimation.

True it is, that men so borne, cannot mainteine them-



themselues to bee Gentlemen by birth, and therefore directlie must not claime such title, or enter the triall of Armes, and therefore in that respect may be repulsed, not as infamous, but as ignoble, which defect either by valorous indeuour in Armes, or vertuous studie in learning may be supplied.

Also all such Bastards as haue long serued loyallie in their Princes Court, & that by priuiledge of their Prince are made legitimate, or hath liued orderlie among other Gentlemen, in place of reputation, may not be repulsed.

*Of Restitution of Honor.*

CAP. 3.

**A**lbeit euerie Soueraigne Prince hath power to pardon disloyaltie, treason, and euerie other offence comitted against his person, Crowne or dignitie, & can also restore vnto the partie pardoned, his lands and his offices, with any other fauour: yet can he not vndo that is done, nor bring to passe that to be well done, which is alreadie euill done, nor that a mind infected with Infamie, should bee cleane and voyd of dishonor, & consequently (notwithstanding restitution) the Prince hath still iust cause to bee suspicious of such a mans fidelitie, as is apt to be drawne to dishonest actions, and euerie other Gentleman should hold him in euill conceipt.

Moreouer, touching the power and authoritie of Princes, in this case it seemeth that as they cannot bereaue the good men of their goodnes, so can they not take from the euill their euill thoughts, seeing their

F

iurisdiction



iurisdiction extendeth vnto the wealth and persons of Subiects, but ouer the minds of men they haue no power. My Prince can make me at his pleasure rich or poore, but to make me good or bad is not in his power, for that apperteineth onlie to Gods grace and mine owne endeouour.

It may therefore be inferred, that if a man restored after the committing of any notorious euill fact, shall challenge another Gentleman to triall of Armes, he may bee reasonablelie repulsed. Yet am I of opinion, that the restitution should be of force in the children and posteritie of the person infamed and condemned, as they that ought not suffer the punishment due to the offences of another, chieflie in respect of Baptisme, whereby all the sinne of forefathers is clesed.

*Of the disequalitie of Gentlemen.*

C A P. 4.

**B**Efore wee enter into consideration of this matter, I thinke good to aduertise, that as there be diuers sorts of men that may not challenge others, so are there some that ought not be challenged of anie. The first of them is Clarkes, or Ecclesiastical persons, professing religion. The other sort is Doctors, with all Students, and such men as are onlie giuen to literature and knowledge. But to retorne vnto disequalitie of noble persons, I say that the true nobilitie of men, is *Vertue*, and that he is truelie noble that is vertuous, bee he borne of high or of lowe Parents. And the more highlie he be borne, the worse reputation



tion he meriteth, if he cannot continue the honor left him by his Ancestors. *Chrisostome* saith, what honor is it to bee well borne, being defiled with vile conditions : or what hurteth base parentage to him, that is with gentle manners adorned ? Who so vaunteth of his Ancestors, seemeth without any good thing of his own. *Seneca* saith, that who so will trulie iudge what worthines is in man, must consider of him naked, laying aside his liuings and titles of honor, with all other fauours of fortune. He must also imagine him without bodie, and then weigh of what value or excellencie he is in minde, because nobilitie is placed in the minde, and in the minde it appeareth.

Now to speake of disequalitie, I say that albeit Emperours, Kings, Princes, great Lords, and meane also, are comprised within the name of Gentlemen and Soldiers, yet is there among them such inequalitie, as no Gentleman of what title soeuer, may bee cōpared vnto a King, nor any Soldier vnto an Emperour, whereof we wil speake hereafter more at large.

Touching the disequalitie of priuate nobilitie, thus is it to bee discoursed. All Gentlemen are either without office, either els they haue office or dignitie, as the gouernment of Townes, Countries, Ambassages, or commandements in warre. Who euer of them hath any office or employment, either it is giuen him for time or life. If he bee an officer for time, and is occasioned to answere in Armes, he may defer the Cōbat till the expiration of his time in office.

If the office be for life, & the qualitie thereof such as maketh him Superiour to the aduersarie, he may fight by Champion.



If such an officer be not Superiour to the enemie, he ought aske leaue of his Prince, and not obtaining it, shall without license go vnto the place of Combat, and with Armes answere the Enemie; for the obligation of honor is to bee preferred before all other. Whosoeuer is borne noble (vnder which word is comprised all sorts of nobilitie and gentilitie) is equal to any other Gentleman of priuate condition. Note here, that in saying a Gentleman borne, we meane he must be descended from three degrees of gentry, both on the mothers and fathers side, such is the opinion of *Paris*.

A Gentleman descended of the most noble house, not hauing iurisdiction or commandement, may be challenged of any priuate or particular Gentleman. Also in respect that the profession of Armes is honorable, a Soldier that hath long serued without reproach, ought be accompted a Gentleman.

Also a Scholler hauing continued the studie of good learning, & is aspired to the degrees of schooles, cannot be denied the title of gentrie.

A simple Soldier of honest fame, may fight with any other Soldier, Corporall, Sergeant, or other officer, the Capteine excepted, and he also may bee challenged to answere by Champion.

Euerie Capteine may challenge another Capteine, vnlesse their charges bee such as the one can command the other, and this rule must serue through all degrees of Soldiers, both on horseback and foot: yet is it to bee vnderstood, that men at Armes being the most honorable sort of Soldiers and in continuall pay, (being for the most part Gentlemen) may not be refused



refused to fight with any priuate Capteine of footmen.

It may be also that a Capteine of footmen should fight with a Capteine of horsemen, were it not that those charges are giuen to Noble men, & the charge of men at Armes to the most Noble: yet is consideration to be had aswell of their birth as their charges. For the Capteine in meaner place, may bee so honorable borne, as he ought not be repulsed: which respect is also to bee had among Capteines, both on horsebacke and foote, and likewise among all horsemen, and Soldiers on foote in particular.

*Of Iniurie done with aduantage.*

C A P. 5.

**H**eretofore hath been said, that no Iniurie offered with aduantage, ought to burthen him in reputation vnto whom the same was offered, and that such Iniuries may in like sort, bee reuenged, which being a thing verie naturall and reasonable, needeth no further prooffe. Notwithstanding, to the intent each man may bee fullie enformed what Aduantage is, wee thinke fit somewhat to say thereof.

Aduantage in general is, when one man doth iniurie vnto another, so, and in such time and place as the Iniured cannot be reuenged: but to speake thereof in particular, thus may it be said for example.

If one man being armed doth assault another disarmed,



armed, or that he be better armed, that we call aduantage.

If a man in office or place of dignitie, hauing about him friends or seruants, doth offer iniurie to another of meaner estate, that is (likewise) Aduantage.

If two or more men, doo hurt or strike another, so as the man hurt is not able to make present reuenge, that is also Iniurie with aduantage.

By these fewe examples, may all other aduantageous Iniuries be conceiued: but therewith is to bee remembred, that the dishonor and burthen of such acts doo apperteine vnto the Iniurer, and the iniurie onelie resteth vpon the Iniured without burthen, vnlesse he shewe apparant signes of cowardise: wherevpon may bee inferred, that no Iniurie with aduantage dooth occasion any necessarie quarrell, sith no man is necessarilie bound to challenge; but onelie he that standeth charged and burthened. For if an Iniurie with aduantage did burthen the reputation of the Iniured, then were it easie for euerie coward to burthen the most valiant man aliue, because such Iniuries are most safelie offered. It seemeth therefore good in this case to disttinguish the nature of aduantageous Iniuries, which may be in this manner.

Either the Iniurie with aduantage is offered in presence of other men that can beare witnesse thereof, or els it is offered out of presence of others.

In the first case, the testimonie of witnesses will make the fact punishable by lawe and ciuill triall, which is the true reuenge, for (as hath been oft said) the triall of Armes is not allowed, but in such cases as the ciuill prooues cannot appeare.

If



If the Iniurie bee offered where no man can witnesse the manner thereof, then resteth it in the choyce of the Iniured, either to bee reuenged by challenge, which is the more honorable, or with the like aduantage. At such time as Princes were pleased to graunt license for the triall of reputation in publique Combat, whosocuer was knowne to haue offered this sort of Iniurie (with all others his Aiders and Abettors) were published and proclaimed as persons Infamous. What hath been said of these Iniuries in deedes, is likewise to bee vnderstood where they are offered in words. Note also that an Iniurie receiued without aduantage, either by word or deed, may not bee discharged with an Iniurie of words or deedes done with aduantage, as thus.

A blowe giuen by hand without aduantage, is not truelie discharged with tenne blowes of the hand or cudgell with aduantage. For it is not reasonable that a dishonest fact done with aduantage, should reuerse an honest fact done in good sort and manfullie. The cause why Iniurie with aduantage doth not burthen the Iniured, is, because no lawe in the world commandeth things impossible.

*Of Iniuries euill offered.*

## CAP. 6.

**O**Ne other sort of Iniurie there is not farre vnlike vnto the former, yet somewhat diuers from it, which for the present wee will call Iniuries in euill sort offered, as thus.

If one man doth strike another sodeinlie behinde  
his



his back, that Iniurie is not done with any aduantage of companie or weapon, and therefore is not properlie said to bee an aduantageous Iniurie: yet is it not manfull or honest, but vile and cowardlie, and the more if the Iniurer hauing giuen the blowe, dooth runne away.

If a man doth cast a Dagger, Sword, or other thing of offence, and therewith hurt, that may be also reputed an Iniurie in euill sort.

If a man bearing displeasure towards another, will cause his friend or seruant to strike him; that may be also reputed an Iniurie euill offered.

Also, if I in wordes shall speake iniuriouſlie or ſlaunderouſly of another man in his abſence, or cauſe others ſo to do; that may be alſo accompted an Iniurie euill offered and out of time.

### *Of Satisfaction.*

#### C A P. 7.

**M**Any men do hold opinion, that Iniuries committed by deedes, cannot by words bee ſatisfied. But this matter is not to bee conſidered ſimplie, by compariug words vnto deedes, but by the weight and greatnes of the diſhonor that is receiued by the fact and the words, & alſo of the ſhame which I offer vnto my ſelfe and is offered by others. For whether doo we thinke a Gentleman leſſe commendable that traiterouſlie hurteth another, or him that by ſuch meanes receiueth the harme, which may bee alſo ſaid of him that offendeth with aduantage, or that giueth a hurt in euill ſort. In mine opinion there  
is



is no doubt to answer this question, because in ordinarie reason the offender ought to be blamed, & not he that is offended, as hath been heretofore discoursed. Notwithstanding, if I hauing done such an act, doo confesse the iniurious manner thereof, and say that without cause the same was by me committed, and consequentlie desire pardon, there is no reason but that he who receiued the iniurie should rest satisfied. For I knowe no offence so great, as is unpardonable vppon such submission, and the more for that the nature of all generous minds is enclined to compassion and forgiuenes.

Yet contrarie to my conceipt, some others doo hold, that if I haue done any iniurious deede, no satisfaction sufficeth, vnlesse I freelie yeeld my selfe into the hands of him who is iniured, and stand at his mercie; which seemeth vnto mee a course verie doubtfull and vnlike to receiue good. For if the Iniured with his owne hand shall doo any thing to his satisfaction, in so doing he sheweth no courtesie, and consequentlie doubleth the anger and quarrell. Or if without other demonstration, forgiuenes be taken as a satisfaction, then will the matter rest suspicious, as a thing agreed on before, and preiudiciall vnto the reputation of him that is iniured. But true it is, if a man should vnaduisedlie or rashlie offend me, & presentlie knowing his error, fall downe at my feete, deliuer me his weapon and pray pardon; in that case there is no doubt, but that I ought rest satisfied, and he freed frō suspition. But if the matter be not at the first thus handled, and the bloud cooled, then seemeth it hard how to cōpasse a peace by way of remission.



Now to confirme that was before said, that words are of effect sufficient to satisfie an Iniurie by deede, I say if a man greatlie harmed by another, doth write that he intendeth to prooue the hurt receiued of him to bee iniuriouſlie and vngentlemanlie done, and the Iniurer will anſwere and confesse he hath indeede done euill, and an act not iustiſiable; surely no reason would that afterwards any quarrell or obligation of honor should remaine. The like satisfaction ought be receiued from the mouth of the Iniurer, and therefore conclude, that Iniuries by deedes may with words be recompensed.

*What satisfaction is to be given for an Iniurie by Deedes.*

C A P. 8.

**B**Ecause the ground & substance of this matter consisteth in knowing the truth; he that hath done wrong, ought in reason to confesse it; and hee that hath right, should mainteine it: therefore when any man iustlie offended hath taken a reuenge convenient according to the qualitie of the offence, to make a peace betwixt these parties, the matter must be thus handled. He that hath made the reuenge shall say: Verie sorie I am to haue had occasion to vse any act of reuenge, and without that occasion, if I had done thus, I should not haue done wel, & as a Gentleman ought to do, or other words to like effect. After which words pronounced, the other partie knowing in conscience that he gaue the occasion (confessing his fault) ought to rest satisfied, & so will, vnlesse  
he



he bee a bodie voyde of reason. Likewise, if two Gentlemen vppon some vnkind words doo drawe, and the one hurt the other; to make them friends, the way is thus. He that gaue the hurt or wound shal say, that the Gentleman wounded, behaued himselfe as a valiant man ought, and although he receiued the hurt yet his vertue did sufficientlie appeare. Vpon these or like speeches, a peace may reasonable ensue with reputation to both; for the one by giuing the hurt hath gained honor, and the other receiuing praise of his enemy is acquite of euill imputation; whereby all men shall knowe, that both the one and the other hath tried himselfe a manlie and valiant Gentleman.

If one man doth strike or offer violence vnto the other, & presentlie runne away; or if the partie offended by any other meane, cannot bee presentlie reuenged: yet in that case, if he lay hand on his weapon and endeuour to make reuēge, he shal be reputed valiant, and the other a coward. But to make peace betweene them, the onelie way is, that he who offered the violence, shall in plaine termes confesse the manner how it was done, and pray pardon. And although it may seeme contrarie to the courage of man, not to mainteine that is begun; yet when he considereth in his owne conscience, that the act was iniurious and dastardlie, it shall bee better christianlie to repent, than wilfullie to persist against all truth and reason.

If one man dooth chaunce to hurt another vnwares, or vnknowing him, as sometimes it happeneth in the night or darke places, the amends must be to say, I know you not, for knowing, I would not



haue so done, nor might so doo without offering wrong and discourtesie, and therefore pray you hold me excused.

Sometimes it happeneth that one challengeth an other to haue stricken him, and the other doth denie that so he did : in that case the satisfaction must bee thus. The partie charged to haue stricken, shall say (if so the truth be) Indeed I did not strike you, & if I had (hauing no such cause) I might iustlie bee accused of Iniurie. After this sort, many other questions may be ordered, vsing such words and reasons, as to discreete Gentlemen shall be thought conuenient. And here I will remember all Gentlemen, making profession of Honor and Truth, that they should not in any wise mainteine any vniust words or wrongfull action. But being by choler or other occasion entred into Iniurie, they ought rather reforme their error, than obstinatlie continue to the offence of their owne conscience and knowledge. Neither can it be dishonorable to confesse that which is true, nor bee sorie for misdooing.

*Other meanes of Pacification and composition.*

C A P. 9.

**T**He first of these is, that aswell the Iniurer as the Iniured should bee drawne into the presence of some honorable personage, and before any act of submission or repetition of words before passed, to agree and referre the order and ending of all questions, vnto one man indifferentlie chosen by consent  
of



of both parties. That being done, the man vnto who this office is committed, shall particularlie and a part entreate with the Iniurer to affirme what he will say on his behalfe. Then calling the Iniured, shall say and assure him, that the Iniurer hath made a good & reasonable satisfaction, in euery thing that may bee preiudiciall to the honor or reputation of the Iniured: And therefore require aswell the one as the other to stand satisfied, and repute themselves in such estate and condition, as they were before the quarrell was commenced. This order hath been oftentimes vsed, and satisfaction so made, thought effectual: for sometimes it prooueth a thing verie difficult to bring the aduersaries together face to face, before a Iudge or other person of authoritie: sometimes also being met, they fall into newe quarrell vpon newe occasion: either els before they come, a doubt will arise how they shall bee accompanied, and whether they shall come armed or without weapon. Another while there groweth difficultie vpon the words of satisfaction. It hath been also seene, that in such conference there hath passed some blowes of the hand, weapon, foote, or other violence, whereby the enmitie was rather encreased, than appeased. In which respects, this order is many times vsed.

Another way is this, that some person of great authoritie should call the parties afore him, and take a truce vntill hee shall at more leisure consider of the quarrell, enioyning them in the meane time not to speake or doo any thing either against other: which order is couertlie a truce perpetual.

Another way is, that a Prince or personage of au-



thoritie, should perswade with the parties to put the quarrell into his hand, and consent to rest satisfied with that he shall vpon his honor determine. Diuers other indirect meanes haue been deuised for the compounding and appeasing of Iniuries, which I leaue to the discretion of wise & valiant Gentlemen.

*Of satisfaction to be giuen vpon words.*

CAP. 10.

**I**T hath been alreadie said, that the ground of all satisfaction is truth, which cannot be denied: wherefore whensoever one man hath vttered any vntrue imputation of another, hee may without discredite confesse the thing to be otherwise than he spake, saying in his owne excuse (vnlesse the truth bee contrary) that which I said I thought then to bee true. Or thus. That I said, was tolde mee of others. Or thus. What I said was in my choller. These speeches tending to shew the truth to be otherwise than was said, the partie offended is disburthened.

If a man hath giuen the Lie to another, and after doth knowe the words wherevpon the Lie was giuen to be true: he may in that case without reproach reuoke the Lie, and thereby make satisfaction. And if happelie he make difficultie to vse such a reuocation directlie, then may he say, I confesse the words to be true whereof our quarrell groweth, either els he may repeate the words, and therewithal allow them.

Another way to procure satisfaction is, That hee who gaue the Lie shall say or write vnto the partie belied to this effect: I pray you aduertise me by this bearer,



bearer, with what intent you spake those words of iniurie, wherevpon I gaue you the Lie. The other will answere, I spake them in choller, or with no meaning to offend you. Thereunto may be answered by him that gaue the Lie, thus. If your words were said onclie in anger, and no intent to challenge me, then do I assure you that my Lie giuen shall not burthen you, for I acknowledge you to be a true speaker, and a Gentleman of good reputation; wherefore my desire is, that the speech passed betweene vs may bee forgotten. This forme of pacification may serue in many cases, and at sundrie occasions.

Sometimes it happeneth, that a man repenting a speech euill spoken of another, will after denie that any such words were spoken; which seemeth no full satisfaction, vnlesse hee adde these words: I spake it not, or if I had spoken it, I should haue said vntruelie. These or like speeches are in this case verie conuenient: for if another man speaketh euill of me, by the deniall of his speech he shameth himselfe, but not satisfieth me, vnlesse he also affirme mine innocencie. But a Gentleman hauing indeed said any thing, ought rather confesse, than denie what was said: which satisfaction I thinke not dishonorable, but honest, as proceeding from a Christian conscience.

If a man hath said any thing that is true, yet vnfit to be spoken, he ought not denie that so he said: but for satisfactiō must say thus. I spake the words without intent to offend, and therefore pray pardon: for indeed to speake a truth with intent to offend, dooth giue iust cause of offence.



*How the giuing of satisfaction is a thing not reproachfull.*

## CAP. II.

**N**OW for that satisfaction is commonlie made by meanes of *Vnsaying*, (for by that terme wee will call aswell euerie reuocation of words, as confession to haue done euil) it may be obiected that if vnsaying be so reproachfull, as for it a man may be discredited, and of other Gentlemen repulsed; then if I haue spoken vntruelie, or done euill by vnsaying or denying thereof, I am to incurr infamie. But for answer of that obiection, I say, that great difference there is betweene vnsaying in the Listes or fields by force of Armes, and that vnsaying which is vttered voluntarilie for the loue of truth; for the one is spoken for feare of death, and the other by perswasion of reason. For hee that persisteth to mainteine euill doth condemne himselfe, as a man that would fight contrarie to iustice: but the other sheweth he will not take Armes for any cause, but that which is iust. And as the one is the part of an euill and wicked person: so is the other a signe of sinceritie & loyall meaning. For sith there is no man liuing faultles, yet he that knoweth his error and repenteth, is most to bee excused, endeavouring to make satisfaction. Therefore that Gentleman who knoweth his owne fault, and laboureth to amend it, doth not onlie deserue to be excused, but is also worthie much praise in offering such satisfaction as apperteineth to reason, and the office of a iust and true Christian. To conclude therefore,



fore I say, albeit the vulgar sort doo thinke, that satisfaction is a signe of cowardise: yet who so choseth to fight against reason and truth, ought bee reputed rather a beast than a Christian, and a furious foole rather than a reasonable creature.

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THE FORTH  
BOOKE.

*Of Nobilitie, accompanied with great  
dignitie.*

CAP. I.



He Emperiall lawes haue determined that no man of base calling, ought be admitted to fight with any Gentlemā or other person professing Armes: yet for better conceiuing what Nobilitie and Gentilitie is, it behoueth to know, that Nobilitie is (as some haue defined it) auncient riches accompanied with vertuous conditions. Others not allowing that opinion affirme, that riches, being of their owne nature vile, doo nothing helpe towards Nobilitie; and therefore concludeth, that vertue alone sufficeth. *Bartholus* saith, that riches doo helpe to attaine vnto Nobilitie; but to preserve it, *Vertue* onelie hath power. Others doo thinke, that Nobilitie proceedeth from the auncient honor, fame, and title of Predecessors; because otherwise a bondman being vertuous, might challenge that honor. Some men al-



so haue thought, that as before God he is most noble and and worthie, vnto whom is giuen most grace; euen so hee is most honorable among men, whom Princes or lawes haue enhabled vnto dignitie. Howsoeuer it bee, most sure it is, that no man giueth vnto himselfe any title, but it behooueth him to receiue it from others. Therefore *Bartholus* concludeth, that to be made noble, it is requisite the Prince doo bestowe some sort of dignitie, or title vpon the person that is ennobled, to the end he may bee knowne from the Plebeiall people: but we say that men may bee reputed noble three waies. First, by nature or discent of Auncestors, which is the vulgar opinion. Secondlie, for vertue onelie, which the *Philosophers* affirme. Thirdlie, by mixture of auncient gentle race with *Vertue*, which is indeede the true and most commendable kind of Nobilitie: for seeing man is a creature reasonable, he ought bee called man, in respect of his owne vertue, and not the vertue of others; which moued *Vlisses* to say vnto *Aiax*, boasting of Auncesters.

*Et genus, & Proavos, & quæ non fecimus ipsi,  
Vix ea nostra voco &c.*

But for better manifestation that naturall Nobilitie mixed with *Vertue* is most true and perfect, thus may it be prooued. The almightie God hath created all things both in generalitie and specialitie, with a certeine excellencie and bountie, one more perfect than the other, one noble, another ignoble. For amōg stones some are precious, others of no vertue, and of  
the



the better sort of them, some more or lesse precious and orient: euen so among liuing creatures both in generalitie & specialitie, we finde some courteous & gentle, others rude & voyd of vertue. Much more is the differēce of nature in men, among whō the eternall God hath dispenced his grace to some more, & to some lesse, according to his diuine will and pleasure. Wherefore they seeme to erre much, that think Gentilitie in nature hath not any force, when experience proueth that of one rase and progenie are commonlie wise, iust, valiant, and temperate men; of another, simple, vniust, cowardlie, and intemperate persons. Notwithstanding, for that we finde in ordinarie obseruation, that neither the horse of excellent courage, doth alwaies beget another of like qualitie, nor that the vertuous man hath euer children resembling himselfe, wee doo not (hauing prooffe of their degeneration) esteeme either the one or the other: which moued *Iuuenal* to say,

*Malo Pater tibi Therfites, dummodo tu sis  
AEacidæ similis, Vulcaniāq; arma capeffas,  
Quam te Therfitæ similem producat Achilles.*

Seeing then that either by naturall instinct, nurture or endeuour, some men are more vertuous than others, therefore ought they be reputed more gentle, noble, and worthie honor, than are those which are voyd of noble Auncesters, good education, and industrie. For albeit no rule is so generall or certeine, but sometime receiueth exception; yet appeareth it that nature in her owne operation, doth seldome di-



gresse from the order thereof. The Falcon neuer or verie rarelie bringeth forth other bird than a Falcon. The Greihound engendreth a whelp like vnto himselfe. Neuerthelesse, if either that bird in shape resembling her damme, hath not in her like vertue : or that whelp doth prooue in delight diuers from his sire, they thereby become either contemned, or little esteemed. Euen so is it among men descending from Auncesters of honor and vertue : for if neither by celestiall grace, learning, nor endeuour they aspire vnto the habit of vertue, then become they thereby vnfit for all publique action, vnprofitable to themselves, and consequentlie disdained, or at the least lightlie regarded, what pedigree, Armes, or badges focuer are to warrant their antiquitie or nobilitie: wherefore estsoones concluding I say with the Poet.

*Tota licet veteres exornent vndique ceræ  
Atria, nobilitas sola est atque vnica virtus.  
Paulus aut Cossus aut Drusus moribus esto,  
Hos ante effigies maiorum pone tuorum  
Præcedant ipsas illi te consule virgas.  
Dic mihi Teucrorum proles, animalia muta  
Quis generosa putet nisi sortia? nempe volucrem  
Sic laudamus æquum, facili cui plurima palma  
Feruēt, & exultat rauco victoria circo.  
Nobilis hic, quocunque venit de gramine, cuius  
Clara fuga ante alios, & primus in æquore puluis.*

*whether*



*Whether a quarrell betweene two Emperours  
may be decided by particular Combat.*

CAP. 2.

**I**T happened the Emperiall seate being voyd, the Electors named vnto that dignitie two Princes, not by general cōsent, but by denisiō of voyces, the one partie chosing *Alfonso* king of *Spaine*, the other *Richard* Duke of *Cornwal* brother to the King of *England*. These Princes claiming the Empire, the one challenged the other to trie the right by Combat: wherevpon grewe a question, whether persons of so high calling ought be admitted to fight in Combat. Therevnto is said, that forsomuch as the Empire in the beginning was gotten by Armes and vertue, and that the execution of all iustice resteth in Armes, it seemeth an Empire in that sort gained, to be more honorable, than if it were giuen by election. Besides that, in such triall, the victorious enioyeth it by diuine iudgement. And for example that Empires haue been so iudged, we reade that the *Romanes* being in warre with the *Albanois*, it was by consent of the one and the other people agreed, that three brethren of the one partie called *Horatij*, should fight with three of the enemies who were also brethren, called *Curiatij*. These men being brought together, after long and doubtfull fight, the victorie fell vnto the *Romanes*, and the *Albanois* (according vnto agreement) willinglie yeelded their Countrie vnto the *Romanes* gouernment. On the contrarie may be alleadged, that forsomuch as the weldooing of the whole Empire, con-



sisteth vpon the life of the Emperour, he ought not to fight in person. But this is to bee vnderstood of an Emperour alreadie possessed and inuested, for if the election be doubtfull, then to auoyd a publique warre and effusion of bloud, it seemeth verie reasonable, that two Princes making claime, ought be admitted to triall of Armes, so long as no other title or interest appeareth.

*Whether a King may challenge an Emperour to Combat.*

C A P. 3.

**T**He auncient Emperours of *Roome* were of so great puissance, and had vnder them so manie Monarchies and Kingdomes, as well neere the chiefeest part of the world was vnto them subiect, and the Princes of those ages were reputed either Subiects, Vassals, or Tributaries vnto the Emperours. In which respect, it was thought vnfit that the Emperour should vouchsafe to fight with any King or Prince of what state or qualitie soeuer. It appeareth also, that the honor and respect borne towards them was excessiue, because the ciuill lawe doth call the Emperour Lord of the world, affirming he hath iurisdiction ouer Kings and all Princes; yea there wanteth not of those, that haue named him GOD vpon the earth, and consequently reasonable that he should refuse to fight in Combat with any King or other Potentate. On the contrarie side may be alleadged, that the dignitie and title of Kings is more auncient, than that of Emperours, and that they haue the like soueraigntie



soueraigntie ouer men. For well we knowe that *Aeneas*, *Romulus*, & *Numa*, gouerned in *Roome* many and many yeares, before that *Iulius Caesar* vsurped the title of Emperour. Neuertheles, *Lancislao* King of *Hungarie* challenging the Emperour, was repulsed as vnworthie. It happened also, that another King contending with the Emperour for the Kingdome of *Polo-*  
*nia*, the said King did challenge the Emperour to Combat, as before that time *Carlo Martello* the sonne of *Carlo* the second had done for triall of the title of *Hungarie*, which he claimed by discent from his mother.

The said King of *Hungarie* (who was then possessed) being of person puissant, did condescend to fight with *Carlo Martello* a young man of twentie yeares, and vnexpert in Armes, yet indeede rightfull heire. These Princes resolved to make triall by Armes vpon a day certeine, & appoynted the King of *England* to be their Iudge, and they to performe the fight in a certeine Iland of his, which was done, & *Carlo Martello* became victorious, and tooke from the *Hungarian* King his helmet, which had a cheine hanging at the same, which helmet *Carlo Martello* and all his successors vsed as a badge. But for resolution of this matter thus wee conclude, that Princes or Kings hauing dependance of the Empire, may bee repulsed to fight with the Emperour: but a King soueraigne, acknowledging no Superiour, and holding his Dominion of GOD and his owne sword onelie, may challenge and fight with any Emperour.



*Of the Equalitie and disequalitie of great Nobilitie, and of the priuiledges due to all men professing Armes.*

## CAP. 4.

**A** King vncrowned may lawfullie challenge a King crowned, vnlesse the King vncrowned be vnlawfullie aspired, or a Tyrant. The number of Christian Kings are 14 of whom onelie foure were auncientlie crowned by the Pope, that is, the *French King*, the *King of England*, the *King of Ierusalem*, and the *King of Sifil*. All the other Kings were crowned by their owne Prelates. Thus saith *Paris*.

An Earle being a Prince absolute, and not subiect vnto the Empire, or any other Potentate, may refuse to fight with any person being a subiect, notwithstanding hee hath the title of Prince, Duke, or Marquize. Here is to bee noted, that these titles of honor were at the first giuen in office, as the title of Duke was proper vnto him that was a Generall of the Armie. A Marquize was he vnto whom the confine or Marches of a Countrie or Kingdome was committed. An Earle or Count was a Iudge or Commander in Peace, and of them in the auncient Emperours seruice were diuers, as the *Countes Palantine*, were as stewards of the Emperours house, of his Court, or Stable, & euerie of them might challenge any Prince, Duke, or Marquize being a subiect; because they are in respect of subiection, reputed none other than Barons.



A Gentleman well borne and descended from Parentage of foure degrees, may fight with any Earle or Baron, in case of treason to his Prince or Countrie, and also murther and infidelitie, because they are (besides their dignitie) none other than Gentlemen, and Gentilitie or Nobilitie is hereditarie and cannot bee taken away, but Dignitie may. But in other quarrells of lesse importance, the Earle in respect of his dignitie may fight by Champion; but in the cases aforesaid he shall fight in person, vnlesse he bee aged, lame, or otherwise disabled.

A Capteine Generall of an Armie Emperiall or Royall, may not be challenged by any Gentleman or Lord; neither ought the Gouvernour of any Citie, Towne, or Castle, because no publique commandement may be abandoned for priuate respect. The like is to be vnderstood of Ambassadors, who in regarde of the place they holde, may, during their Commission, repulse the challenge of any Gentleman or other subiect whatsoeuer.

A Soldier baselie borne, hauing liued in continual exercise of Armes by the space of tenne yeares, without committing any disobedience, or other reproachfull act, ought be admitted to fight with any Gentleman borne.

A Gentleman, who either by his owne fault or his Auncestor, hath committed any treason against his Prince, may bee repulsed to fight with any other Gentleman, vnlesse the said offender or his Auncestor were restored in bloud, or is in discent three degrees from the Auncestor that was attainted.

A Gentleman that is knowne a Spie for the Enemie,



mie, or bewraie the secrets of his owne Princes Campe, abandoneth his Ensigne, or committeth any other Militarie offence, may be repulsed to fight with euerie other Gentlemen of good fame & reputation. And by the ancient custome, men blotted with such note, might not liue in any citie or towne where the Emperour or other Prince remained.

A Gentleman that hath made profession of Armes by the space of twentie yeares in the Court or Camp of his Prince, without infamie or reproach, may (notwithstanding he be dismissed, retired or cassed) fight with any other Gentleman that liueth in present Pay and exercise of Armes.

A Gentleman hauing aspired vnto any title or dignitie, and is either in respect of age or infirmitie retired to his owne house, ought neuerthelesse to enioy all his honors, and shall be euer (without committing dishonorable fact) reputed worthie the honor he receiued in Court or Campe, and fight with any other Gentleman whatsoever.

An Artificer following the Campe, and exercising his Arte or Mysterie (notwithstanding he bee also in Pay) may bee repulsed to fight with any priuare Soldier that maketh particular profession and exercise of Armes.

No man vnder the degree of a Gentleman ought be receiued or allowed for a man at Armes on horsebacke: for by the Emperiall lawes the Regiment of Launces, was called *Equestris ordo*, and they whom we call Light horsemen, were named *Celeri*.



*Certeine Questions, Opinions, and iudgements  
vpon accidents happening in trialls and ex-  
ercise of Armes.*

C A P. 5.

**I** F two men at Armes doo couenant to fight on horsebacke, and runne tenne courses with sharpe Launces, and that hee who worst performeth those courses should be iudged victored & prisoner to the other : It happeneth that at the second course the one of them falleth from his horse, and sodeinlie recouering to horsback offereth to performe the rest of the courses. The question is, whether it be lawfull for him so to doo, or by the fall be reputed a prisoner?

Whereunto is answered, that in a Challenge for life and death, no man ought bee accompted vanquished vnlesse he bee slaine, or forced with his owne mouth to yeeld or denie those words where-vpon the quarrell groweth : yet otherwise it is, when the Challenge or Combat is for Honor onlie, loue of Ladies, or exercise of Armes, because in that case (notwithstanding the Runners bee determined vpon a certeine number of courses) yet if at the first, or after (before those courses bee all performed) any of them doo fall, he that receiueth the fall shall lose the honor, and the other depart with victorie.

**2** Two Gentlemen being come into the field to fight for life, the one in fighting happeneth to fall, the other presentlie sitteth vpon him and saith, yeeld thy selfe; he that lieth vnder, saith like words, and there-



with woundeth his enemy lying vpon him, who feeling the griefe mortall, striketh the other in the throate; he that was first false ariseth and walketh, shortly after they both die; the question is, which of them ought to be iudged victorious?

Albeit no dead man can require iudgement of victorie; yet to the end the honor due vnto the victorious may be in signe of his valerous merit bestowed, and the spoiles of the vanquished laid vnder his Ensigne, thus it is said. He who first had the bodie of the enemy in his power and vnder, ought be reputed victorious: yet may it be alleadged, that the other who gaue the first mortall wound, ought haue the victorie, because the time thereof & not the time of death is to bee considered. Others are of opinion, that the longer liuer ought to haue victorie: and some affirme, that if the Challenger gaue the first wound whereof death ensued, although himselfe did first die: yet had he performed his part and deserued most praise. Some also doo thinke, there is no iudgement can bee giuen but that the matter should lie dead. Howsoever it bee, I leaue the same to more learned Doctors and better experienced Knights.

3 Two Gentlemen being on horsebacke, the one challengeth the other, the fight being begun, the Challenger alighteth & killeth his enemy; the Question is, whether he may so lawfullie doo?

Thereunto is answered. That if the Challenge were for triall of Honor, Triumph, or sport on horseback, then is no honor due to him that thus killed his enemy, for that neither of the fighters ought to bee on foote: but in a Combat for life it is otherwise.

Sith



Sith then it is lawfull aswell for the one as the other to take and vse all meanes, aduantages and subtilties that can be inuented.

4 Two Gentlemen capitulate to fight on horse-backe,& that he who first falleth shall be vanquished. At the first encounter they fall both at one instant; question is, which of them ought be victorious.

To this case may bee answered, that forsomuch as the Challenger is not onelie to defend himselfe, but also offend & winne victorie, now falling euen with the Defender, he thereby ought be accompted victored; for in all doubtfull causes the Defender is most to be fauoured. Others are of minde, that seeing the fall of the Challenger might proceede of his owne force,& not the vertue of the enemye, the iudgement ought lie dead. But the true decision of this question is thus. If the Combat were for triall of Vertue, Loue, or Prize, then ought the Challenger to lose the honor; but if the same were for life, then ought the fight to be performed in one other day by consent of both parties; because in Combats of that kinde no victorie is gained vntill one of the fighters bee either slaine or yeelded, or hath with his owne mouth denied the words wherevpon the Combat was occasioned.

5 Two Gentlemen determined to fight on horse-backe for life, the one ouerthroweth the other: being downe, the enemye commeth vpon him: he that is vnder saith, I yeeld, and at the same instant with his dagger striketh and killeth him that is aboue: the question is, which of them ought be pronounced victorious.



Thereunto is said, that forsomuch as the words and deedes of him that liueth, were said and done at one instant, being of contrarie effect, the iudgement ought haue relation vnto the deedes : for oft times words are vttered, diuers from the intent of that is done. But if so be a man doth say, I yeeld, and he vnto whom he yeeldeth doth stay to fight & accept thereof, then shall the sayer be reputed vanquished; and afterwards offending him to whom he is yeelded, for so dooing, he ought bee dishonored and condemned as a Traitor.

6 Two Gentlemen being agreed to breake certeine Launces for Prize and Honor, the horse of the one happeneth to stumble vpon a broken Launce & falleth; whether shall he in respect of that fall be iudged to lose the honor?

To this question, the answere is apparant. For seeing that the fall proceeded not from the vertue or force of the aduersary, but by misfortune, the Gentleman false ought to be excused. Notwithstanding, if the fight had been for life, the matter ought receiue other iudgement, seeing in those kind of Combats it is lawfull to take all oportunities and aduantages.

7 Two Gentlemen determined to fight for life vpon an accusation of treason, whether is it lawfull for the Iudge to depart them, before the Combat be performed & fullie ended? VV hereunto may be answered, that forsomuch as the office of a Iudge, is to giue sentence according to allegations and prooues; it seemeth that the Iudge ought in no wise to stay the fight, but permit the Combat to proceede, till the one or the other of the fighters bee either yeelded or  
slaine,



flaine, especiallie in quarrells of so heinous weight as is the cause of treason. For *Frederick* the Emperour, who cassed and disanulled all particular Battells and Combats vsed by the *Lombards*, did notwithstanding allow, that vpon quarrell for treason and secret murder, the Combat should bee permitted and graunted by all Princes, because the one was offense to God, the other to Prince and Countrie.

8 Two Gentlemen being come to Combat did covenant, that which soeuer of them did giue vnto his enemy most wounds, should be victorious: the one hath his eye put out with a shiuer of a Launce, & the other hath his bodie and armour pearced through: the question is, who ought haue the victorie?

To that doubt we answered thus. Albeit the eye is a member of much delicacie, and also placed in the head: yet for that the Launce is passed through both breast and back, it must needs bee that he on whom those wounds are, should confesse to receiue most hurt, and consequentlie to lose the honor and victorie.

9 Two Gentlemen being in fight, the one putteth out the eye of his enemy, and he in requitall of that hurt, cutteth off his nose; the question is, who is by those hurts most dishonored?

It may seeme at the first sight, that losse of an eye is greatest, being a member placed aboue, & that without the sight a man prooueth unfit for all worldlie actions: yet forsomuch as the want of a nose is commonlie accompted the greatest deformitie, and a punishment due for infamous offences, it may bee reasonable inferred, that the losse of that feature should  
bring



bring with it most dishonor. Besides that, seeing man is made according to the similitude of God, wee account that the face being made more deformed by losse of the nose, than of one eye: therefore the greatest honor of this Combat is due vnto him who taketh the nose of the enemy.

IO Two Gentlemen in fighting on horsebacke with Launces, the one hath his hand maimed, the other his knee and whole legge made lame; which of them ought receiue most honor?

Hereunto may be said, that the hand being a member most necessarie for fight, and placed much higher than the legge: therefore the losse thereof is of more importance, & consequētlie dishonorable. On the other side is alleadged, that seeing the leg is of as great necessitie, so as without it he is disabled to serue either on horse or foote: therefore he who becommeth hurt and lame in that part, receiueth most dishonor, and the more for that no Arte can supplie that want, as in the hand it may. But I referre the true deciding of this doubt vnto the wise and learned reader.

II Two Gentlemen come to fight for life, the Challenger being left handed is maimed on that hād, the other being right handed loseth it; which of them ought receiue most dishonor?

It seemeth that in this case the losses and harmes are equall; for he who was left handed, being maimed on that side, is deprived of that hand which he vsed chieflie, and was no lesse apt for him, than the right hand is vnto the enemy. And sith it is the office of the Challenger not onlie to mainteine but also offend and prooue, in not doing more to preiudice the Defen-



Defender, than that harme himselfe receiueth: therefore the Challenger (although hee loseth but a left hand) is in this case most dishonored. Yet because the exercise of these mens hands were of like necessitie, I thinke (vnder correction) the iudgement ought to rest as indifferent.

12 Two Gentlemen in performing a Combat on foote, are hurt in places equall; the question is, whether of them is victorious?

We haue in the former question said, that where two fighters bee equallie hurt, the Challenger should depart with dishonor, because he hath not prooued that which he tooke in hand, which is to vanquish the Defender. Therefore, the drawing the enemies bloud, and the manner thereof is to bee considered. If then the one be hurt on the right arme, and the other on the left, it may seeme there is none aduantage: for as the right hand is apt to offend in fight, so the left hand is no lesse fit to defend. Notwithstanding, for that the vse of the right hand is both more necessarie and ordinarie, he who is hurt thereof, ought to be adjudged vnto most dishonor, chieflie in Combat for life. For in the exercise of Armes for honor onlie, the iudgement ought lie dead, or els he shall bee thought victorious that most manfullie performed his part, or that regardeth least the wound, or that most cunninglie doth handle his weapon. The qualitie of the hurts is also to bee considered, which of them is more or lesse mortall, likewise which member is more or lesse to be regarded.

13 Foure Gentlemen determined to fight on horsebacke for triall of trueth and life, did enter into the

K

Lists:



Lists: the one partie doo both charge one of the aduersaries reputed a man of small force, yet valiantlie defending himselfe, did hurt one of the assailers. And his companion seeing the matter so handled, sodeinlie dismounteth, and with his Launce woundeth the other of his enemies in the backe, and forceth the one of them to denie his words: he that denied fleeth out of the Listes, perswading his fellowe being first hurt to abide there, saying it was more honorable to dye within, than without the Listes. He who forced the enemy to flie, pursued him; but not able to take him, a question was mooued which partie ought bee accounted victorious, because on either partie one was hurt, and the other two went out of the Listes without license of the Iudge. Whereto may be sayd.

That he who denied, ought with his companion to lose the Honor. For albeit one of the enemies did also leaue the Lists, yet his entent therein was to pursue his foe being fled thence: and forsomuch as the Combat was for matter of Treason, it sufficeth not onlie for the victorious to vanquish the enemy, but also to bring him into the power of the Iudge to bee punished. And it is plaine, that seeing of the one partie one was hurt, and the other fled, they ought to be iudged to lose all honor, and be condemned as guiltie of that wherevpon the quarrell was mooued.

14 Seauen Gentlemen doo compound with seauen other, to runne certeine courses at the Tilt for honor and loue of Ladies; in which match, it happened that fiue of the one partie did commendable acquite themselves, but the other two of that side were overthrowne. On the other side, two onelie performed  
their



their courses well, and the rest of that companie exceeding euill, losing many Launces, and running very foule: whereof a question grew, whether vnto five well doers and two euill, or vnto two weldoers with five euill, the honor ought be allotted?

Albeit in this case much may bee spoken, yet for that the question is not of any particular mans merit, but which partie in generall performed best the enterprize; it may be alleadged, that the partie wherein were most weldoers ought to haue the honor, notwithstanding the fall of two of their companions: yet forsomuch as to fall from horseback by the enemies force or vertue is most reproachfull, it seemeth that the misaduenture of two men onlie, may reasonable be the losse of honor to all the rest. And therefore we leaue the iudgement of this doubt vnto wise men, better experienced in Armes.

15 Two Gentlemen being in Combat for life, the Challenger taketh the sword of the Defender from him, notwithstanding the Defender most valiantlie defendeth himselfe with his arme and hands all the whole day, during which time he could not be forced either to denie, yeeld or bee slaine. A question thereupon arose, whether of them was victorious?

Forsomuch as this Combat was for life, and that in euerie fight of such nature, no victorie is fullie gained vntill the Defender is slaine, or els forced to yeeld or denie; it seemeth that he is not to be iudged guiltie, nor hauing done any of these, although his sword were lost, which indeede in all Martiall exercises and feates of Armes is a thing much to bee discommended. But most certeine it is, that in all Com-



bats and actions of Armes, for Honor, Loue, & Praise onelie, whosoever loseth his sword, must presentlie (also) lose the honor and victorie.

16 Two Gentlemen fighting for life within the Listes, the one yeeldeth himselfe a prisoner. Whether may the Prince of the place (who in Combat is elected a Iudge) saue the life of him that is vanquished? Hereunto may be answered.

That albeit euerie prisoner apperteineth vnto his taker, yet hath it commonly been vsed, that the victorious haue presented their prisoners vnto the Prince, to bee disposed at his good pleasure, who in recompence thereof, doo vse (according to the magnanimous mindes of such persons) not onelie to pay the charges of the victorious, but also in signe of clemencie and mercie set the infortunate prisoner freely at libertie. As did the noble King *Edward* the third of *England*, vnto *Iohn Visconti*, who in his presence was vanquished by *Thomas de la March* base sonne vnto the *French* King. And *Phillip* Duke of *Milan* did the like vnto another infortunate Gentleman vanquished by a *Neapolitane* Knight.

*Of the honor gained or lost by being disarmed in sundrie places, and of sundrie peeces.*

C A P. 6.

A Man that loseth his Sword in fight, is more reproached than he that loseth his Shield. For he gaineth the greatest honor that winneth the chief weapon from the enemy, which is the Sword, seeing therewith the Emperour and Kings do create their



their Knights, and the Sword is borne before them in signe of authoritie and regall power.

He that loseth his Headpeece in fight, is more dishonored, than he that loseth his Shield, because the Helmet defendeth the most principall part of man, but the Shield armeth a lower place.

He that loseth his Gauntlet in fight, is more to be blamed, than he who is disarmed of his Poulderon. For the Gauntlet armeth the hand, without which member no fight can be performed, and therefore that part of Armour is commonlie sent in signe of defiance.

He that is cast out of the Saddle by violence of his aduersaries encounter, shall be more reprooued, than he who falleth by the default of his horse, the breaking of girths, or any such like accident.

*Of the honor gained or lost by the hurts giuen or taken in Combat for life or in Triumph.*

C A P. 7.

**H**E that in fight loseth his Eye, shall thereby receiue more dishonor, than hee that loseth his Teeth; because the Eye is a member seruing the most necessarie sence, but the Teeth are onelie instruments of the mouth. He that loseth his right Eye, is more to be reproached, than he that loseth the left Eye; because the right side is in better opinion of men. The like is to be said of the hands, of the armes and legges. If a man hauing but one Eye doo fight with another man that hath two, in losing that one Eye, he shall be more blamed, than he who hath two



Eyes, although hee loseth one. Hee that loseth his whole hand, shall bee more reproached, than he who loseth one Eye. And hee that loseth a foote, is more disgraced, than he that loseth one hand.

*Of Justs and Turniaments, and how the accidents in such exercises are to be iudged.*

CAP. 8.

**I**T is written, how at a Triumph in the noble Citie of *Naples*, a Gentleman called the *L. Peter Counte of Derise*, receiued so furious an encounter by the Launce of another that ranne against him, that therewith he became at one instāt disarmed of his Shield, his Curats & Headpeece, so as he being vtterly disarmed, was left on horsback in his doublet only, without other harme : In requitall whereof, the said *Peter* gaue vnto the other Gentleman so violent a blowe, as therewithall the girths of the horse were broken, and the man cast headlong on the ground. Thereupon a question was mooued, which of them had merited most honor, or rather which of them deserued least reproach ? Whereunto was answered absolutelie, that he who fell fro the horse, was most dishonored ; for (next vnto death) to fall from the horse is most reproachfull.

Yet is it lesse disgrace to fall with the horse, than to fall alone : and therefore, albeit a man doth runne neuer so well, if in the end he doth fall frō the horse, he can by no meanes receiue honor for that day, but shall rather depart with disgrace.

Who so fighting on foote at Barrier, or in any other



ther exercise of Armes, is by the force of his aduersarie constrained with his hand to touch the ground, shall thereby lose all commendation.

He that on horsebacke directeth his Launce at the head, is more to bee praised, than he that toucheth lower. For the higher the Launce hitteth, the greater is the Runners commendation.

Who so runneth lowe, is not onelie vnworthie praise, but also meriteth reproach. And he who so carrieth his Launce comelie and firme, is more to bee praised, although hee breake not, than hee who misgouerneth his horse, or vnskilfullie handleth his Launce, although he doth breake.

He that vseth to runne high, sitteth steadelie and moueth least in his course, accompanying his horse euenlie and iustlie, is in running worthie al commendation.

He that falleth with the encounter of the aduersarie (although as is before said, the same be a great disgrace) yet is it more excusable, than if he remaineth on horsebacke amazed, suffering his horse to wander he wotteth not whether.

He that with his Launce taketh away the Rest of the aduersaries Armour, meriteth more honor, than he that taketh away any other ornament.

He that breaketh his Launce on the Pomell or bolster of his aduersaries Saddle, deserueth worse, than he who beareth his Launce well without breaking.

He that breaketh on the face or other part of the horse, meriteth worse, than he that breaketh not at all.

He



He that hurteth an horse, shall not receiue honor, although before he hath runne well : for he that hurteth an horse is in like predicament with him that falleth, who cannot on that day receiue any honor.

He is worthie small estimation, that cannot gouerne his owne horse, or that sitteth loose in his saddle : but much is he to bee praised that with his force disordereth his aduersarie in the saddle.

He that letteth his Launce fall, can claime no commendatiō. And lesse worthie praise is he that knoweth not how it should be charged.

He that breaketh the Launce furiously in many peeces, is more reputed, than he that breaketh it faintly in one onlie place.

He that conueieth his Launce into the Rest in due time, is worthie commendation : but he that carieth it shaking in his hand or vnstaiedly in the Rest, meriteth blame.

He that dexterously carieth the Launce long on the arme, and skilfully conueith it into the Rest neere the time of encounter, is more allowed, than he that sodeinly and at the first setting out doth charge it.

To conclude, hee is worthie all commendation, that beareth himselfe well on horsebacke, that sitteth comely, that fitteth his bodie well with Armour, that hath his person so disposed as if it were without Armour, that can endure to weare it long, and that till the ende of the day disarmeth not his head.

He that performeth not all his determined courses, ought not receiue any prize or honor.

Hee that hurteth or toucheth an horse with his  
Launce,



Launce, shall neither haue prize nor praise, for he is in case as though he had falne.

He that doth fall, may not runne any more in that day, vnlesse he falleth on his feete standing right vp, and bee also a Challenger: for in that case he may returne to horse and answer all commers, because on that day he is so bound to doo.

*The manner of Combats in England, as I found them recorded in the French tongue, and written in an auncient booke, shewed me by Master Garter her Maiesties chiefe Herebault.*

**F**irst, the Cartell or bill of Quarrell aswell of the Challengers behalfe as of the Defenders, was brought into the Court before the *Conestable* and *Marshall*. And when the truth of the cause of quarrell could not be proued by witnesse, nor otherwise, then was it permitted the same should receiue triall by force of Armes, the one partie by assailing, the other by defending. The *Conestable* as vicar generall vnto the King assigned the day of battaile, which was to bee perfourmed within fortie daies next following, whereunto both the Challenger and Defender condescended. This being done, the weapons were equallie appoynted to either of them, that is to say, a Sword, a Dagger, and one other weapon, which they called a Glaiue. Then were the fighters commanded to bring in sufficient pledges for suretie, that they and euerie of them should appeare & performe the Com-



bat betwixt the Sunne rising and going downe of the day appoynted for the acquittall of their pledges, and that they nor any of them, should doo or cause to bee done any molestation, damage, assault or subtiltie against the person of his enemye, either by himselfe, his friends, his followers, or other person whatsoever.

*In what sort the King commanded the place of Combat to be made.*

**T**He kings pleasure being signified vnto the Constable and Marshall, they caused Listes or Railes to be made and set vp, in length three score paces, and in breadth fortie paces. The place where these Listes were appoynted, was euer vppon plaine and drie ground, without ridges, hills, or other impediments. At either end of the said Lists was made a gate or place of entrie, with a strong barre to keepe out the people. For the guarding of either gate one Sargeant was appoynted, and commanded not to suffer any man to approach within foure foote. The one gate opened towards the East, the other towards the West, being strongly barred with a raile of seuen foote long, & of such height, as no horse could passe either vnder or ouer the same.



*In what sort the King did sit to behold the  
Combat.*

**O**N the day of battaile, the King vsed to sit on a high seate or scaffold purposely made; at the foote whereof, was one other seate for the *Conestable* and *Marshall*. Who being come thether, called before them the pledges aswell of the Defend-  
dant as the Challenger, to bee shewed and presented vnto the King, there to remaine within the Listes as prisoners, vntill such time as the Challenger and Defender were come, and had performed all their ceremonies.

*In what sort the Challenger vsed to present  
himselfe to Combat.*

**T**HE Challenger did commonlie come vnto the East gate of the Listes, and brought with him such Armour as were appoynted by the Court, and wherewith he determined to fight. Being at the gate, there he staid vntill such time as the *Conestable* and *Marshal* arose from their seate, and went thether. They being come to the said gate of the Listes, and beholding the Challenger there, the *Conestable* said. For what cause art thou come hether thus armed, and what is thy name? Vnto whom the Challenger answered thus. My name is *A.B.* and am hether come armed and mounted, to perfourme my challenge against *G.D.* and acquite my pledges. Wherefore I humblie desire this gate may bee opened, and I suffered to performe my intent and purpose.



Then the *Conestable* did open the visor of his Head-peece to see his face, and thereby to knowe that man to be he who makes the Challenge.

These Ceremonies ended, the *Conestable* commanded the gate of the Lists to be opened, whereat the armed man with his necessities and counsell entered. From thence he was brought before the king, where hee remained vntill such time as the Defender was come thether.

In like manner, the Defender being appeared, did make request vnto the *Conestable* & *Marshall*, desiring they would bee pleased to deliuer and discharge his pledges. Wherevpon the said *Conestable* and *Marshall* did humblie desire the King to release them, because the Defender is alreadie come, and presented before his Maiestie, there to performe his duetie. But in case the Defender did not come at time conuenient in the day appointed, then did the King deliuer his pleasure vnto the *Conestable*, and he report the same vnto the *Marshall*, who forthwith did giue order vnto his *Lieutenant*, that the Defender should be presentlie called to appeare by the *Marshall* of *Herehaults* in the *South*, called *Clarentieux*: and in case the *Marshall* of *Herehaults* of the King in the *South* were not present, then was the proclamation made by some other *Herehault* of King *Clarentieux*. But if the Combat were performed in the *North*, on the other side of the *Riuer* of *Trent*, in the circuite of the King *Norre*; then was his *Marshall* to make proclamation. The words of the Proclamation was to this effect. Oyez. G. D. Defendant in this Combat, appeare now, for in this day thou hast taken vppon thee to acquite thy pledges in  
presence



presence of the Lords *Conestable* and *Marshall*, and also defend thy person against *A.G.* who challenged thee to mainteine the cause of this Combat.

This Proclamation was made thrice at euerie corner of the Lists: but if at the second time, the partie appeared not, then the *Herehault* did add these words *The day passeth, and therefore come without delay.* And if in case the said Defendant appeared not before noone, but staid vntill the third houre after, then did the *Herehault* by commandement of the *Conestable* and *Marshall*, in the beginning of the Proclamation say, *A.G.* appeare in hast & saue thine honor, for the day is well neere spent, wherein thou diddest promise to performe thine enterprize. It was also vsed that the *Conestable* his Clarke, should in a booke record the houre of the fighters appearing within the Listes, either on foote or on horsebacke, in what sort they were armed, of what colour the horses were, & how they were in all poynts furnished.

It was also auncientlie vsed, that the *Conestable* moued the King in fauour of the Fighters, and knowe whether his Maestie were pleased to appoynt any of his Nobilitie or other seruants of reputation, to assist them in Combat.

The *Conestable* and *Marshall* did suruay the Launces and other weapons, wherewith the Combat should bee performed, making them equall and of euen measure.

The *Conestable* also appoynted two Knights or Squires vnto the Challenger, to keepe the place free from impediments; the like was also done for the Defender.



The *Coneſtable* did alſo moue the King, to knowe whether his Maieſtie in perſon would take the othes of the Fighters, or giue him and the *Marſhall* authoritie to doo it out of his preſence.

The *Coneſtable* alſo did ſend the *Marſhall* vnto the Challenger and his counsell to make readie his oath, declaring that after that ceremonie all proteſtations ſhould be voyd.

After theſe preparations, the *Coneſtable* cauſed his Clarke to bring forth the booke, wherevpon the Combatters were ſolemnely ſworne.

### *The firſt Oath.*

**T**He *Coneſtable* hauing cauſed his Clarke to reade the Challengers bill, calling him by his name and ſaid. Doeſt thou conceiue the effect of this bill? Here is alſo thine owne Gauntlet of defiance, Thou ſhalt ſweare, by the holie Euangelites, that all things therein contained be true, and that thou mainteine it ſo to be vpon the perſon of thine aduerſarie, as God ſhall helpe thee and the holie Euangelists.

The oath thus taken, he was led back vnto his former place, and the *Coneſtable* did cauſe the *Marſhall* to produce the Defender, who tooke the like oath. This oath was euer takē the parties kneeling, vnleſſe it pleaſed the *Coneſtable* and *Marſhall* to pardon that duetic.

### *The ſecond Oath.*

**T**He ſecond Oath was alſo indifferentlie propounded to either of them, viz. That they had not brought



brought into the Listes other Armour or weapon than was allowed, neither any engen, instrument, herbe, charme, or inchantment, and that neither of them should put affiance or trust in any thing other than God and their owne valours, as God and the holie Euangelistes should helpe them. That done, they were both sent backe to their places of entrie.

*The third Oath was thus.*

**T**He Combatters being againe called, were commanded by the *Conestable* to take one the other by the hand, and lay their left hands vpon the booke: which done, the *Conestable* said. I charge thee *A.B.* Challenger, vpon thy faith, that thou doo thine yttermost endeuour and force to proue thine affirmation, either by death or deniall of thine aduersarie, before he departeth these Lists, and before the Sunne goeth downe this day, as God and the holie Euangelists shal helpe thee.

The verie same oath in like manner vsed was offered vnto the Defender, and that done, the Fighters returned vnto their places, friends and councellers.

These ceremonies ended, an *Herehault* by commandement of the *Conestable* and *Marshall*, did make proclamation at foure corners of the Lists thus. *Oiez, Oiez.* We charge and commande in the name of the King, the *Conestable* and *Marshall*, that no man of what state, title, or degree soeuer, shall approach the Lists neerer than foure foote in distance, nor shall vtter any speach, word, voyce or countenance, whereby either the Challenger or Defender may take aduantage vpon



pon paine of losse of life,liuing and goods to betaken at the Kings good pleasure.

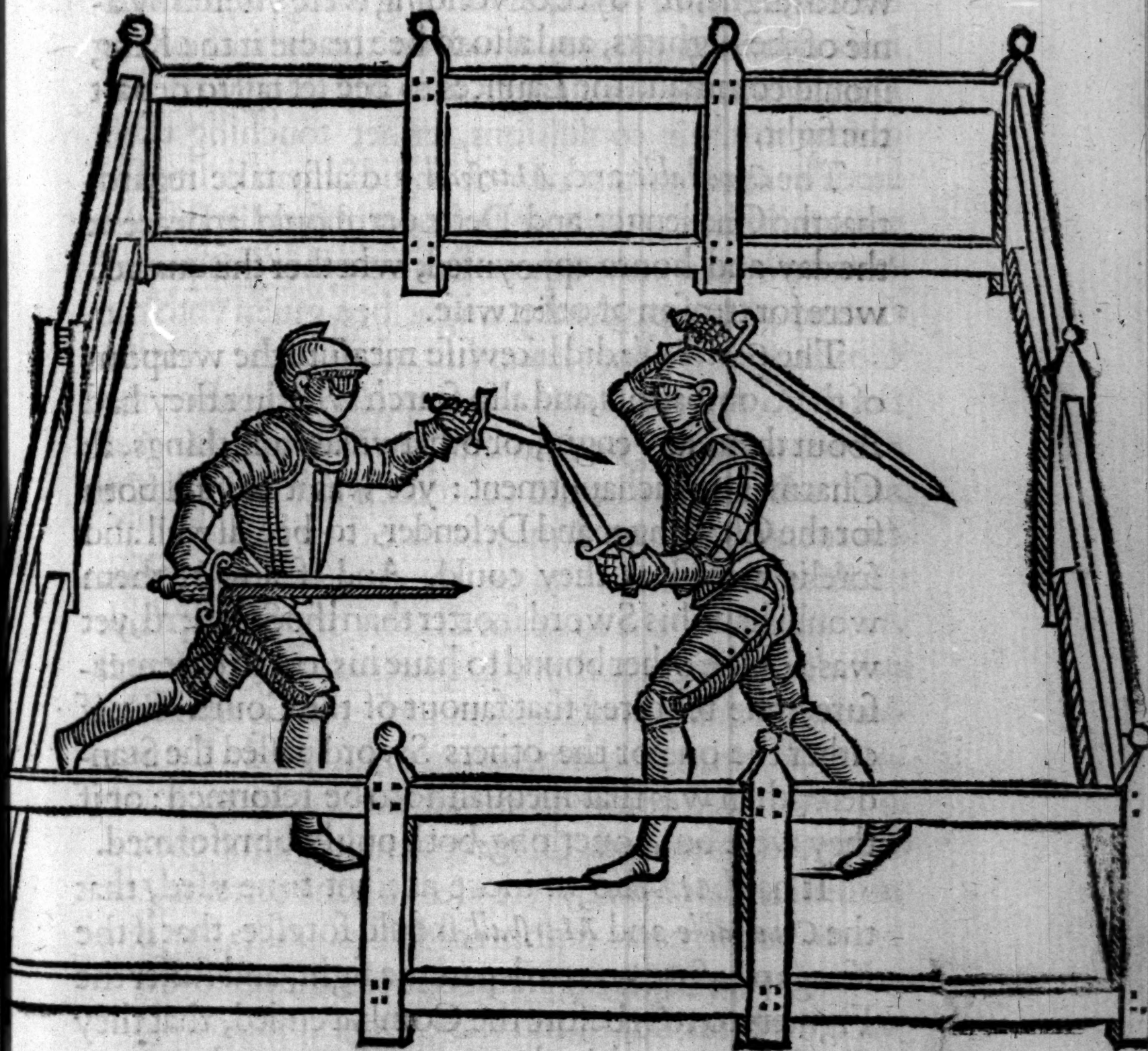
Then the *Conestable* and *Marshall* assigned a place cōuenient within the Lists, where the King of *Herehaults* and their officers should stand and bee readie if they were called : for afterwards al things were committed to their charge, aswell on the behalfe of the Defender as the Challenger, as if any thing were forgotten in their confessions, either touching their lands or consciences : or that any of them desired to eate or drinke. All those lacks were supplied by the *Herehaults* and none other. But here is to bee noted, that no meate or drinke might bee giuen vnto the Challenger, without leaue first asked of the aduersarie, who did not denie the request. And after, the *Herehault* ought goe vnto the *Conestable* and *Marshall* and make them priuie, to desire their fauour, that the Fighters might eate, drinke, or ease their bodies.

After these orders taken, the *Conestable* and *Marshall* did auoyd the Listes of all sorts of persons, saue onlie one Knight and two Esquires armed, to attend on the *Conestable*, and the like number to await on the *Marshall*, either of them hauing in his hand a Launce without head readie to depart the Fighters, if the King did command. Of more auncient time the *Conestable* and *Marshall*, were vsed to haue certeine *Lientenants* and seruants within the Listes. Also the one part to keepe order on one side, & the others to looke vnto the other side. And if the Queene happened to behold the Combat, then the *Conestable* and *Marshall* awaited on the Kings side, and their *Lientenants* attended on the Queene.

Then



Then did the *Conestable* alone, sitting downe before the King, as his Vicar generall, send his Liutenant to the Challenger to come vnto him, and the *Marshall* with his Liutenant did accompanie the Defender.



The *Conestable* thus set, did pronounce this speach with a loude voyce: *Let them go, let them go, let them go and doo their best.* Vpon which words pronounced



in the Kings presence, the Challenger did march towards the Defender to assaile him furiously, and the other prepared himselfe for defence soberlie. In the meane time, the *Conestable* and *Marshall* with their Liutenants stood attentiu to heare and see if any words, signe, or voyce of yeelding were vttered by any of the Fighters, and also to bee readie if the King should command the Launces to bee let fall to depart the fight.

The *Conestable* and *Marshall* did also take regard, that the Challenger and Defender should appeare at the day and houre appoynted, whether the quarrell were for treason or otherwise.

The *Conestable* did likewise measure the weapons of the Combattors, and also search whether they had about them any engin, or other vnlawfull things, as Charmes or Inchauntment: yet was it lawfull both for the Challenger and Defender, to bee aswell and surelie armed as they could. And if any of them would haue his Sword shorter than the Standerd, yet was not the other bound to haue his cut to that measure, if he required that fauour of the Court. But if either the one or the others Sword passed the Standerd, then was that inequalitye to be reformed: or if they were both ouerlong, both ought be reformed.

It had been also in more ancient time vsed, that the *Conestable* and *Marshall*, should foresee, that if the Kings pleasure was to depart the fight, and suffer the Fighters to rest, before the Combat ended, that they should bee parted in due time, when no aduauntage were. Likewise, that they should take heed that none of them should priuatlie speake vnto the other of yeelding.



yeelding, or otherwise. For vnto the *Conestable* and *Marshall* apperteined the witnessing and record of all things.

And in case the Combat were for question of treason, he that was vanquished should bee foorthwith disarmed within the Lists, by commandement of the *Conestable* and the *Marshall*. The said Armour and weapons of the vanquished, in one end of the Lists was defaced in his disgrace, and after, the same was drawne out together with his horse. From thence also the man vanquished was drawne vnto the place of execution to bee there headed or hanged, according to the custome of the Countrie. The performance of all which punishment, apperteined onlie to the *Marshall*, who ought see all things done in his owne presence. And in case the Challenger did not vanquish his enemy, then ought he suffer the same paines that are due vnto the Defender, if he were vanquished. But if the quarrell were vpon a crime of lesse importance, the partie vanquished, should not bee drawne vnto the place of execution, but onelie led thether to receiue death or other punishment, according to the custome and qualitie of the matter.

If the Combat were onelie for triall of vertue, or honor, he that was vanquished therein, should be disarmed and put out of the Lists without further punishment.

If it happened that the King would take the quarrell into his hand, and make peace betweene the parties without longer fight. Then did the *Conestable* leade the one, and the *Marshall* the other of the fighters out of the Lists, at diuers gates, armed and moun-



ted as they were, hauing speciall regard that neither of them should go the one before the other. For the quarrell resting in the Kings hand, might not bee renewed, or any violence offered without preiudice vnto the Kings honor. And because it is a poynt verie speciall in matters of Armes, that he who leaueth the Lists first, incurreth a note of dishonor: therefore to depart the Lists in due time was euer preciselie obserued, were the Combat for treason or other cause whatsoeuer.

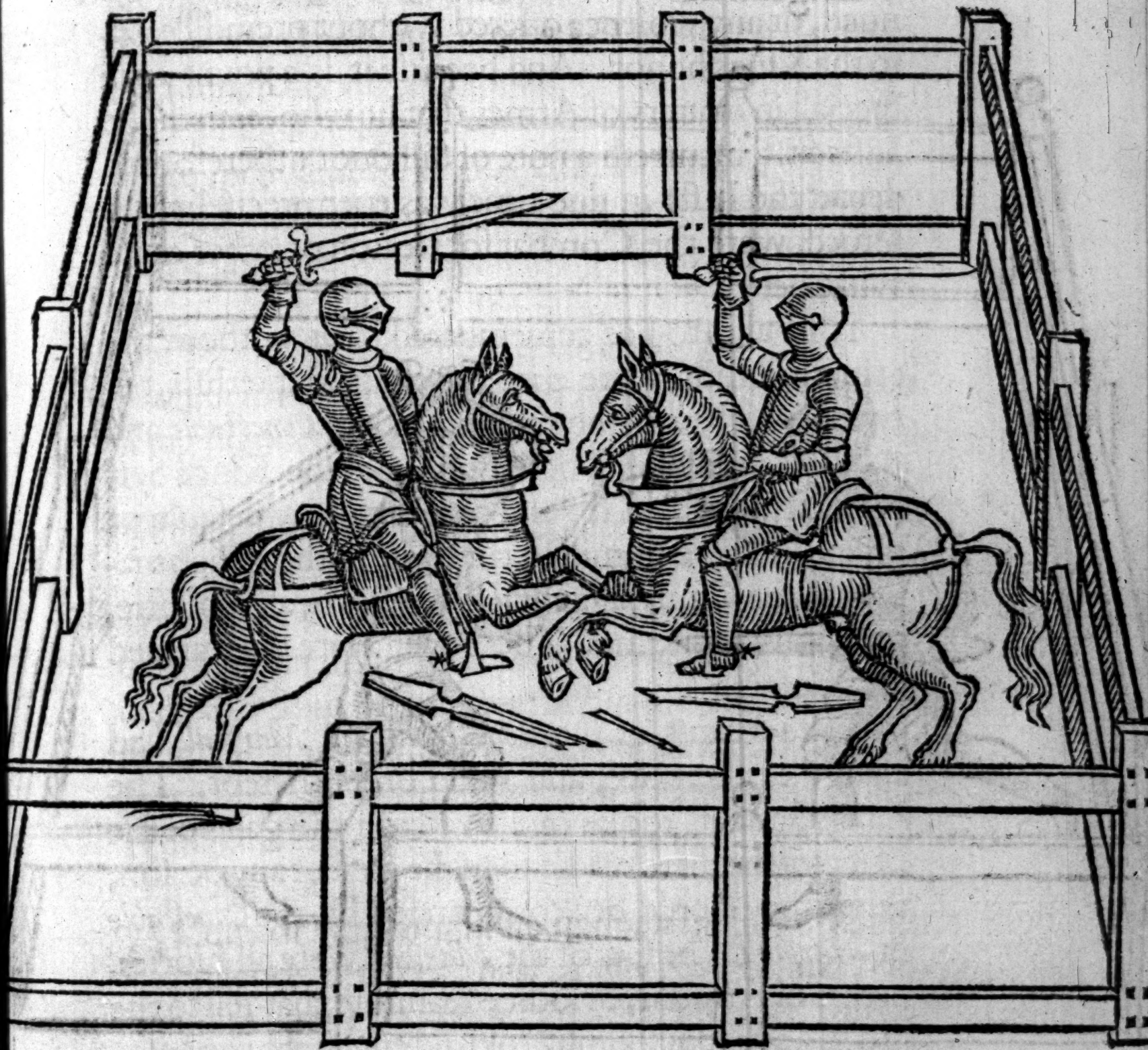
It is also to bee remembered, that without the principall Lists, were euer certeine Counterlists, betwixt which two, the seruants of the *Conestable* and *Marshall* did stand. There stood also the Kings Seruants at Armes, to see and consider if any default, or offence were committed contrarie to the Proclamation of the Court, against the Kings royall Maiestie, or the lawe of Armes. Those men were euer armed at all peeces.

The seruants of the *Conestable* and *Marshall* had charge of the place, and good order thereof. The Kings Seruants tooke care to keepe the gates of the Lists, and be there readie to make arest of any person, when they should bee commanded by the *Conestable* or *Marshall*. The fees of the *Marshall* were all Horses, peeces of Armour, or other furniture that fell to the ground after the Combattors did enter into the Lists, as well from the Challenger as the Defender. But all the rest appertained to the partie victorious, whether he were Challenger or Defender.

The



The Barres, Posts, Railes, and euerie other part of the Lifts were also the fees of the *Marshall*.



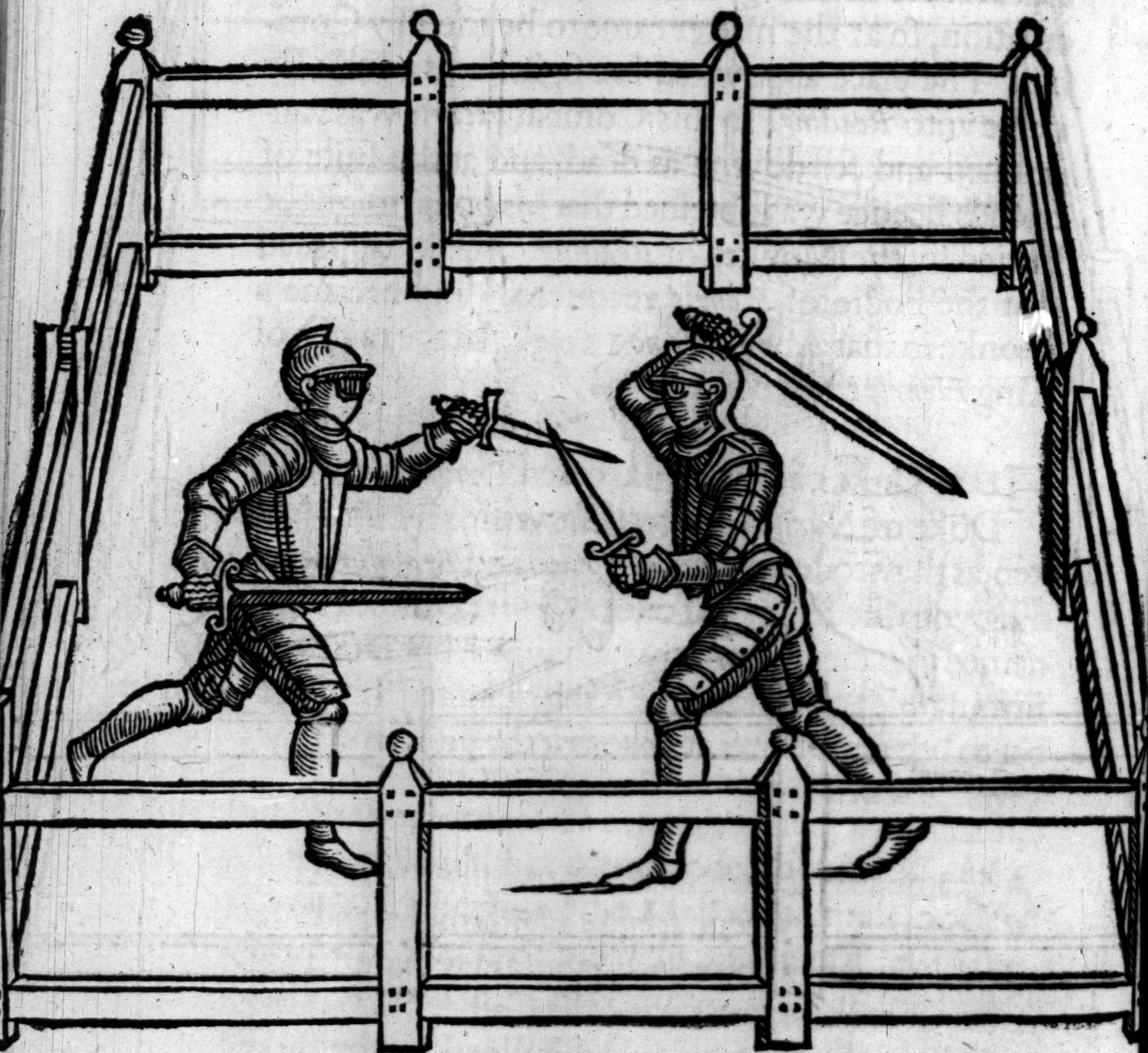
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*Certeine*



*Certeine Combats graunted by the Kings of England.*

CAP. 9.



**E**dmund, of the race of *West Saxons*, fought in combat with *Canutus* King of *Denmarke*, for the possession of the Crowne of *England*. In which fight, both the Princes being wearie, by consent departed the land betwixt them. *Anno. 1016.*

*Robert*



**R**obert Mountfort accused Henrie of Essex of treason, affirming that he in a iorney towards *Wales* neere vnto *Colshil*, threwe away the Kings Standerd, saying the King was dead, and turned backe those that went to the Kings succour. Henrie denied the accusation, so as the matter came to be tried by Combat. The place appoynted for fight, was a little Ile neere vnto *Reading*. In this Combat Henrie was vanquished and fell downe as dead, and at the suite of friends, licence was obtained that his bodie might be buried by the Monkes of *Reading*. But it happened that the bodie of Henrie recouered, and became a Monke in that Abey. Anno 1163. In the raigne of King Henrie the second.

**H**enry Duke of Hereford accused Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norffolke of certeine words by him spoken, as they rode betweene *London* and *Brainford*, tending vnto the Kings dishonor. Thomas Duke of Norf. denied to haue spoken any such word, but Henrie affirming his accusation, the King graunted the Combat to bee performed at *Couentrie* the 7. of September 1398. Anno Rich. 2.

**A** Combat was fought at *Westminster* in the Kings presence, betweene *Iohn Ansley* Knight, and *Thomas Catrington* Esquire, who the said Knight had accused of treason, for selling the Castle of *S. Sauours*, which the Lord *Chandos* had builded in the Ile of *Constantine* in *France*. In which Combat the Knight was victorious. Anno 1379. regni Rich. 2.

A Com-



**A** Combat was graunted vnto an Esquire borne in *Nauarra*, to fight with an *English* Esquire called *John Welsh*, whom the *Nauarrois* accused of treason. But the true cause of the *Nauarrois* his malice was, for that the said *Welsh* had forced his wife, as (being vanquished) he confessed. The King gaue sentence he should bee drawne and hanged. *Anno. 1384. Regni Rich. 2.*

**A** Combat was fought betweene *Sir Richard Woodwile* and one other Knight borne in *Spaine*. After the third blowe giuen, the King staied the fight. *Anno 1441. Regni Henr. 6.*

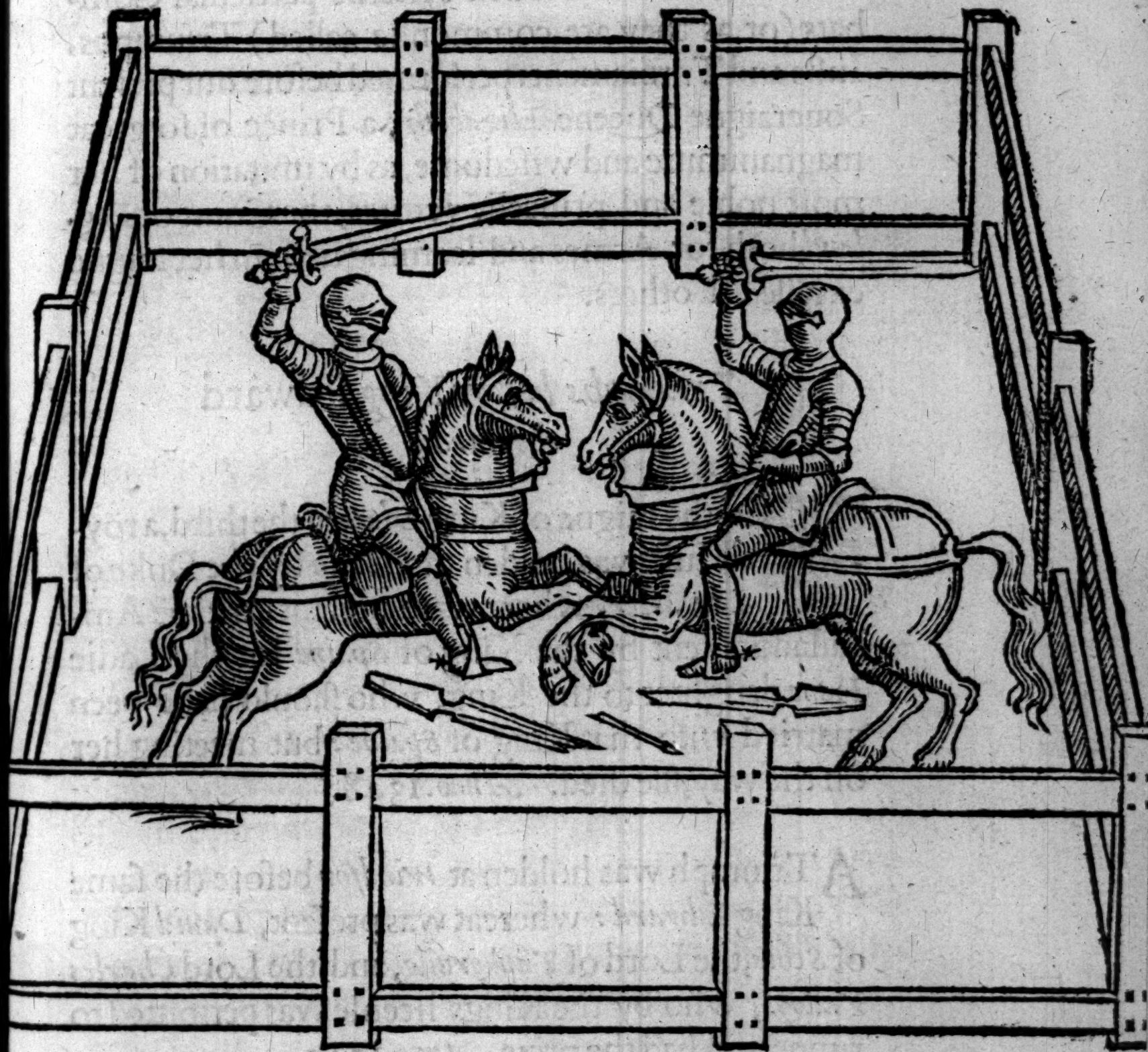
**A** Combat was graunted vnto *Iohn Viscount* borne in *Cipres*, and *Thomas de la Marshe* bastard sonne vnto *Philip King of France*, in the raigne of King *Edward the 3. at Westminster.*

*Certeine*



Certaine Combats for Triumph, 89  
*Honor, and Loue of Ladies, brought before  
the Kings of England.*

CAP. II.



**I**N the former Chapter wee made mention of the  
Ceremonies appertaining to Combats for life, as  
they were ancientlie vsed. Nowe I thinke fit for

N

the



the furniture of this worke, brieflie to remember some speciall exercises of Armes brought before the Princes of this realme for Honor, and loue of Ladies onlie: and among the rest (as actions most worthie memorie) wee will touch certaine particular Combats (or as they are commonlie called) Triumphs, Iusts and Turniaments performed before our present Soueraigne Queene *Elizabeth*, a Prince of so great magnanimitie and wisdom, as by imitation of her most noble and princelie vertues, the Court of *England* both for Armes and learning hath in her raigne excelled all others.

*Triumphs before King Edward  
the third.*

**I**N the raigne of King *Edward* the third, a royall Iust was holden at *Lincoln* by the Duke of *Lancaster*, where were present certaine Ambassadors sent by the King of *Spaine* for the Ladie *Ioane* daughter to the King, who should haue been married vnto that King of *Spaine*: but meeting her on the way, she died. *Anno. 1348.*

**A** Triumph was holden at *Windsor* before the same King *Edward*: whereat was present, *David* King of *Scots*, the Lord of *Tankerville*, and the Lord *Charles Valloys*, who by the Kings license was permitted to runne, and had the prize. *Anno. 1349.*

**I**N *Smithfield* were solemne Iusts in the same Kings raigne, where was present a great part of the most  
valiant



valiant Knights of *England* and *France*. Thether came also noble persons of other Nations, as *Spaniards*, *Cirriots*, and *Armenians*, humblie desiring aide against the *Pagans*. Anno 1361.

*A Triumph before King Edward  
the fourth.*



Vits were againe holden in *Smithfield*, where *Anthonie Wooduile* Lord *Scales* did runne against the *Eastard* of *Burgondie*. Anno. 1444.

*A Triumph before King Henrie  
the sixt.*

One other notable action of Armes was personallie performed in *Smithfield*, betweene a Knight of *Spaine* called *Sir Francis le Aragonys*, and *Sir Iohn Astley* Knight of the *Garter*. For after the said *Sir Francis* had wonne the honor from all the men at Armes in *France*, he came into *England*, and made a generall Challenge, but by the great valour of *Sir Iohn Astley* lost the same vnto him. The memorie of which action remaineth with Master *Garter* principall King of Armes.



*Triumphs before King Henrie  
the seventh.*

*A* Richmond was holden a solemne Triumph, which continued a whole moneth, where Sir *Iames Parker* running against *Hugh Vaughan* was hurt and died. 1494.

One other Triumph was in the same Kings dayes performed in the Tower of *London*. Anno. 1502.

*Triumphes before King Henrie  
the eight.*

*B* Ut farre exceeding al these was that magnificent Iusts & Turniments, at the meeting of the two excellent Princes, King *Henrie* the eight of *England*, & *K. Frances* the *French* King: who choosing vnto them xiiij. others, did challenge to runne at the Tylt, and fight at the Turney and Barrier with all commers. The Chalengers were; The King of *England*, the King of *France*, the Duke of *Suffolke*, the Marquis *Dorset*, Sir *William Kingston*, Sir *Richard Iernegan*, Master *Nicholas Carew*, and Master *Anthonie Kneuet*, with their Assistants, Sir *Rowland* & Sir *Giles Capell*: with these were so manie other *French* Gētlemen, as made vp the number aforesaid.

For Defenders, thether came *Monsieur de Vandosme*, the Earle of *Deuonshire*, and the Lord *Edmond Howard*; euerie of the bringing in a faire Band of Knights well armed.

The



This most noble Challenge of these two mightie Kings, accompanied with xiiij. other Knights, of either Nation seuen they caused to bee proclaimed by Norrey King of Armes, in England, & France, Germanie, Anno 12, Hen. 8.

ONE other most memorable Challenge was made by the same King; who in his owne royall person, with *William Earle of Deuonshire*, *Sir Thomas Kneuet*, & *Edward Neuell Esquire*, answered all comers, at *Westminster*. The King called himselfe *Cuer loyal*; the Lord *William*, *Bon vouloir*; *Sir Thomas Kneuet*, *Vailliant desir*; and *Edward Neuill*, *Ioyous penser*.

Defenders were;

The Lord *Grey*, *Sir William a Parr*, *Robert Morton*, *Richard Blont*, *Thomas Cheyney*, *Thomas Tyrrell*, *Sir Rowland Christopher Willoughby*, the *L. Howard*, *Charles Brandon*, the Lord *Marquis*, *Henrie Guilford*, the Earle of *Wiltshire*, *Sir Thomas Bullin*, *Thomas Lucie*, the Lord *Leonard*, the Lord *Iohn*, *Iohn Melton*, *Griffith Doon*, *Edmond Howard*, *Richard Tempest*.

After this Challenge was ended, the prize appointed for the Challengers partie, was giuen vnto *Cuer Loyall*: & among the Defenders to *Edmond Howard*.

ANother solempne Challenge was proclaimed and performed by certaine English Knights: vz. *Sir Iohn Dudley*, *Sir Thomas Seymour*, *Sir Francis Poinings*, *Sir George Carew*, *Anthonie Kingston*, and *Richard Cromwell*: Anno. 1540.



Of like Actions in Armes sith her  
*Maiesties Raigne, these doo seeme most no-  
 table, as appeareth by the memorialls of M.  
 Clarentieux, a Gentleman verie diligent  
 in her Maiesties seruice, and carefull to ob-  
 serue things to the Honor of her Maiesties  
 Court.*



NE solempne Iust, Turniment, and  
 fight at the Barrier was holden at *West-  
 minster*, wherein the Duke of *Norfolke*,  
 the Earle of *Suffex*, the Earle of *War-  
 wicke*, the Earle of *Leicester*, the Lord  
*Scrope*, the Lord *Darcie*, and the Lord *Hunston* were  
 Challengers, and with great honour answered all  
 Commers.

The Defenders names are not extant.

A Royall Challenge was also there proclaimed be-  
 fore her Maiestie, wherein were Challengers, the  
 Earle of *Oxenford*, *Charles Howard*, *Sir Henrie Lee*,  
 and *Christopher Hatton*.

*The Defenders were;*

The Lord *Stafford*, the Lord *Henrie Seymour*, *Ed-  
 ward Harbart*, *Sir George Carie*, *Thomas Cicill*, *Henrie  
 Gray*, *William Howard*, *Sir Ierome Bowes*, *Henrie  
 Knowles*,



*Knowles, Henrie Kneuet, William Norris, Richard Bulkeley, Thomas Kneuet, William Knowles, Rafe Lane, George Delues, Robert Colfel, Lancelot Boslocke, Brian Ansley, Henrie Mackwilliams, Thomas Bedingfield, Thomas Moore, William Worthington, Richard Blunt, Thomas Conyngesby, Robert Alexander, Roger Clopton.*

This Triumph continued three daies. The first at Tilt; the second at Turney; and the third at the Barriers.

On euerie of the Challengers her Maiestie bestowed a Prize: for the receiuing whereof, they were particularlie led armed by two Ladies vnto her presence Chamber.

The Prize at the Tilt on the Defenders partie was giuen vnto *Henrie Grey*; At the Turney vnto the L. *Henrie Seymor*; at the Barriers vnto *Thomas Cicill*. Before them went *Clarentieux* king of armes in his rich coate of Armes.

This magnificent Combat was performed Anno 1571.

**A**N honourable Challenge was likewise brought before her Maiestie by the Earle of *Arundell*, calling himselfe *Callophisus*, who with his Assistant Sir *William Drenrie* challenged all commers. Anno 1580,

*The Defenders were;*

The Earle of Oxford, the Lord Windsor, Philip Sidney, Edward Norris, Henrie Knowles, Robert Knowles, Fulke Greuill, Thomas Kneuet, Thomas Kellamay, Rafe Bowes, George Gering, George Gifford, *Anthonie Cooke,*  
Henrie



*Henrie Bronkerd, Edward Denie, Richard Ward, Sir Thomas Parrot.*

The Prize was giuen to the Earle of Oxford.

TO these actions of Armes may be added the notable Turniament on horsebacke within her Maiesties Pallace at *Westminster*, which became the more rare and memorable, for that it was performed in the night. The manner whereof in briebe, was thus.

It pleased her Maiestie (according to her Princelie custome in receiuing of noble strangers) to conuite vnto supper the Duke *Momorancie* chiefe Marshall of *France*, at that time come hether to take the honourable Order of the *Garter*. This magnificent supper ended, it pleased her Highnesse (the weather being warme) to walke out of her Chamber into the open Tarrace, whether also (awaiting on her) went the said Duke, and all others of the *French* Nobilitie, with the Ambassadours, Lords and Ladies of this Court. At her Maiesties comming to the North side of the Tarrace, there were prepared and set rich Chaires, Cushions and Carpets. In which place it pleased her to stay, intertaining most gratiousslie the said Duke & other noble strangers. Next vnto them were placed the Ladies, Lords Counsellors and other persons of reputation, according to their degrees and conueniencie of the rounge. So as the said Tarrace was on all sides beset with Lords, Ladies, and persons of qualitie sumptuouslie apparelled and richlie furnished, and among them (both aboue and vnder) stood manie of the Guard in their rich coates, holding an infinite number of Torches: and so in  
the

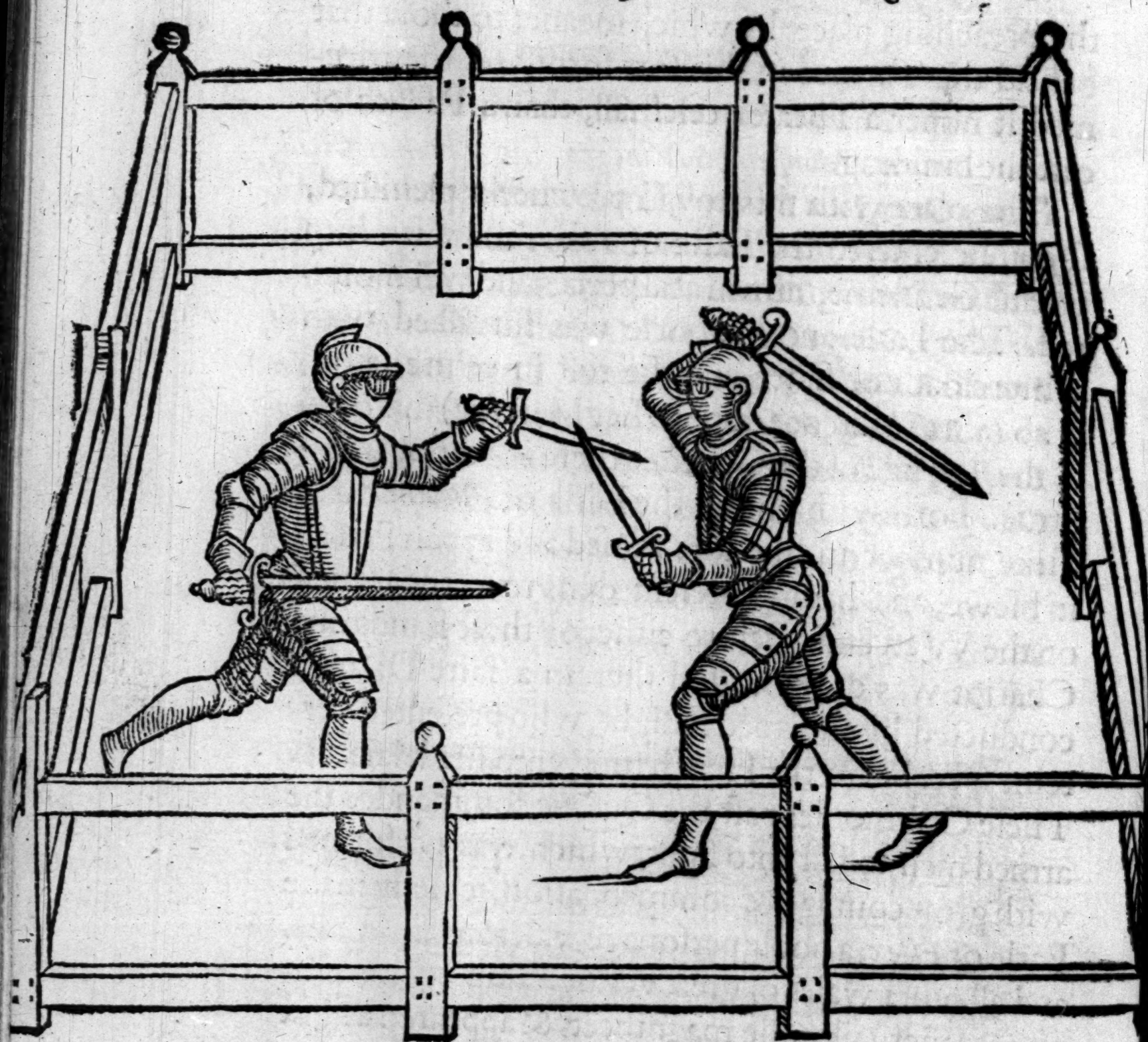


the preaching place: by which meane, to those that beheld the Tarrace in this sort furnished, they deemed it rather a Theater celestiall, than a Pallace of earthlie building.

The place with this royall presence replenished, sodeinlie entered the Earle of *Essex*, and with him twelue Gentlemen armed at all peeces and wel mounted. The Earle and his horse was furnished with white cloath of siluer, and the rest in white sattin, who (after reuerence done to her Maiestie) marched to the East side of the Court, & there in troope stood firme. Forthwith entred the Earle of *Rutland* with alike number in like sort armed and apparelled all in blewe, and hauing presented his reuerence staid on the West end. Before either of these Bands one Chariot was drawne, and therein a faire Damsell conducted by an armed Knight, who presented certeine speeches in the French tung vnto her Maiestie. These Ceremonies past, the Queene commanded the armed men to fall vnto fight, which was performed with great courage & commendation, chiefly in the Earle of *Essex*, a noble personage, valerous in Armes, and all other waies of great vertue. Trulie, this action was meruailouslie magnificēt, & appeared a fight exceeding glorious to those that wer below looking vpward to the Tarrace, wher her Maiestie, the Lords and Ladies stood, so pompously apparailled, Iewelled and furnished as hardly can bee seen the like in anie Christian Court; as my selfe and other the Actors (at occasions staying from fight) with great admiration did behold and thinke.

Of the Actors names in this Combat, it seemeth no note is kept: yet are manie of them liuing.





NOT inferiour, but farre exceeding in princelie pompe and qualitie of Actors was that royall Combat and fight on foote before her Maiestie, the 1. of Ianuarie Anno 1581. where *Monsieur of France*, the Prince d' *Aufine*, the Earle of *Suffex*, the Earle of *Leicester*, the Count S. *Aignon*, *Monsieur Chanuallon*, and *Monsieur Barquenville* were Challengers.

The



*The Defenders were;*

The L. Thomas Howard, Sir William Russell, Monsieur Brunys, Monsieur S. Vincent, Sir Thomas Cicill, Henry Grey, Iohn Borough, Lord Windsor, Walter Windsor, Le Boylere, Le Cheualier, Ambrose Willoughbie, Sir William Drurie, Thomas Radcliffe, Lord Sheffeld, Robert Cary, George Carew, Fulk Greuill, William Knowles, Francis Knowles, Thomas Kneuet, Lord Darcie, Anthony Mildmay, Rafe Stauerton, Lancelot Bostock, George Beeston, William Worthington, Thomas Kellaway, Sir George Carey, Rafe Bowes, Henrie Windsor, Iohn Wotton, George Goring, Edward Moore, George Giffard, Thomas Borough, Anthonie Cooke, Hercules Newtas, Richard Skipwith, Henrie Bronkard, Iohn Parker, Francis Darcie, Iohn Tyrrell.

They are not here placed according to their degrees, but as they were called to fight.

**A**Fter so manie royall and statelie Triumphs, it may be thought superfluous to insert the ordinarie exercises in Armes, almost yearly vsed on the 17. of Nouember, in memorie of the applause of all subjects at her Maiesties comming to the Crowne of *England*, as euen this last yeare was vsed by the right noble and valerous Earle of *Essex*: a Gentleman of great hope, or rather vertuous prooffe and singular perfection. In lieu whereof (or rather to auoide iteration of names) we haue here set down those Lords and Gentlemen that haue been Actors in publique exercises of Armes on horsebacke, sith her Maiesties raigne: as chieflie by Master Clarentieux notes doth



appeare. By consideration of which persons, as well in qualitie as number, it may easilie bee conceiued, that the magnificence of her Maiesties Court is equall or exceeding the Courts of other Kings her noble predecessors.

*They are not here placed in order of their degrees, but according to the time of the Actions wherein it pleased them to be : and with such titles as they since had, or now haue.*

The Duke of Norffolke.  
 The Earle of Sussex.  
 The Earle of Warwick.  
 The Earle of Leicester.  
 The Earle of Ormond.  
 The L. Honsdon.  
 The L. Scroope.  
 The L. Darcie.  
 The L. North.  
 The L. Norris.  
 The L. Charles Howard.  
 The L. Grey.  
 The L. Stafford.  
 The L. Henrie Seymor.  
 The Earle of Oxenford.  
 The Earle of Essex.  
 The Earle of Rutland.  
 The Earle of Arundel.  
 The L. Windsor.  
 The L. Thomas Howard.  
 The L. Sheffield.  
 The L. Borough.  
 The Earle of Essex.  
 The L. Willoughbie.  
 The L. Strange.  
 The Earle of Comberland.  
 The L. Brough of Ireland.

Knights and Gentlemen.  
 Sir Christopher Hatton,  
 Knight of the Order.  
 Sir George Howard.  
 Edward Fitzgarret.  
 Sir Robert Constable.  
 Sir Henrie Lee.  
 Anthonie Digbie.  
 Thomas Warcop.  
 Thomas Markham.  
 Sir George Beeston.  
 Sir William Gorge.  
 Henrie Haruie.  
 Edward Hongarford.  
 Thomas Cornwallis.  
 John fernegan.  
 Robert Colfel.  
 Robert Wiseman.  
 Francis Haruie.  
 Sir Thomas Layton.  
 William Howard.  
 Sir Edward Harbert.  
 Sir Henrie Cobham.  
 Walter Windsor.  
 Sir Henrie Kneuet.  
 Sir George Carey.  
 Henrie Knowles.



# of Honor and Armes.

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William Norris.  
Rafe Lane.  
Sir Iohn Dauers.  
George Delues.  
Sir Henrie Grey.  
Lancelot Bostock.  
Brian Ansley.  
Sir Ierome Bowes.  
Sir Thomas Cicill.  
Henrie Mackwilliam.  
Thomas Bedingsfield.  
Sir Richard Bulkeley.  
Thomas Kneuet.  
Sir William Knowles.  
William Worthington.  
Edward Cary.  
Sir Thomas Gorge.  
Richard Blunt.  
Thomas Moore.  
Thomas Coningesbie.  
Robert Alexander.  
Roger Clopton.  
William Hysfeld.  
Thomas Cotton.  
Sir Walter Rawleigh.  
Sir Philip Sidney.  
Sir William Russell.  
Sir Thomas West.  
Robert Knowles.  
Iohn Carey.  
Fulke Grenill.  
Rafe Bowes.  
Iohn Zouch.  
Sir William Drurie.  
Thomas Kellaway.  
George Goring.  
Iohn Ludcot.

Edward Grenill.  
William Tressam.  
Edward Moore.  
Iohn Tyrrell.  
Henrie Bronkard.  
Sir Thomas Parrot.  
Thomas Radcliffe.  
Sir Edward Norris.  
Anthonie Cooke.  
Sir Iohn Packington.  
George Giffard.  
Richard Ward.  
Enerard Digbie.  
Sir Edward Denie.  
Sir William Hatton.  
Thomas Vanisfor.  
Henrie Nowell.  
Sir Iohn Borrowe.  
Sir George Carew.  
Anthonie Mildmay.  
Thomas Gerrard.  
Edward Winter.  
Sir Charles Blont.  
William Gressam.  
Iohn Wotton.  
Iohn Parker.  
Francis Darcie.  
Robert Carie.  
Sir Edward Wingfield.  
Iohn Chidley.  
Sir Philip Butler.  
Richard Skipwith.  
Pecksall Brocas.  
William Haruie.  
Thomas Sidney.  
Iarues Clifton.  
Richard Acten.



**M**Y meaning was here to haue inserted all the Speeches, Emblemes, Deuises, Posies, and other Complements, vsed in all Challenges & other publique exercises of Armes since her Maiesties Raigne: but for want of obseruation, or rather lacke of some sufficient man to haue set them presently downe, those things cannot be recouered. Henceforth that defect is like to bee supplied by the dextrous hand of Master *W. Seagar*, (now called *Somerſet*) one of her Maiesties Herehaults, a Gentleman both learned and languaged, and therewith also by his own hand able to expresse in demonstration, with great art and excellencie. Whose minde is whollie bent to her Maiesties seruice, and the honour of her Court.

*The Ceremonies apperteining to the deliuerie of Prizes at Iusts and Turniments.*

C A P. 12.

**A**T anie publique Triumph before the King, it seemeth the vse hath heretofore been, that the Prizes of best desert should bee giuen by the hand of the Queene, notwithstanding it were in the Kings presence: but first a solempne proclamation to be made by the Herehaults: to this effect;

**O**Yes, O yes, O yes. Be it knowne to all men by these presents, that by the authoritie of the most high, most excellent, and most puissant Prince H. by the grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland, &c. That of those which haue Iusted on the Challengers side A.B. hath deserved the Prize, and to him let the same be giuen as due, by the censure of the Queene, with the assent of her Ladies, Gentlemen, and all others of her Highnes Court heere present.

Likewise on the partie of Defenders C.D. hath Iusted well, E.F. better, but G.H. best of all: vnto whome the Prize is iudged, by the most mightie, most excellent, and vertuous Princeſſe, with consent aforesaid.

This



This was the forme of deliuering the Prizes, at the most noble and triumphant Iusts performed by King *Henrie* the eight and *Francis* the French King, with their Nobilitie and Gentlemen of Armes, at their interviewe in *Picardie*: where the Proclamation in forme aforesaid was pronounced in *English* and *French*, which by fauour of Master *Garter* I haue seene recorded.

**I**T seemeth in elder times, the vse was that the Prince did giue a letter of attestation to such persons as wan anie Prize, either in Combat for life or Honor: for my selfe haue read such a one granted by a King of *France* vnto an *Italian* Gentl. in these words following: wherevnto (as it seemeth) was added a great and honorable Ceremonie.

**N**O I *Filippo*, per gratia di dio Re di Franza, &c. notificchiammo a tutti coloro, a quali perueranno queste nostre littere, et che lo hanno a grado et in piacere, e generalmente a Imperadori, Re, Duchi, Marchesi, Conti, Principi, Nobili, Cauallieri e Gentilhuomini, come hauendo noi celebrato le nostre feste a honore, a laude, & a gloria di nostro Signor dio, & ad honore di tutti i Cauallieri che sono Venuti a combattere a tutto transito in questo honorato passo di armi: Vogliamo che siano riconosciuti coloro che si saranno Valorosamente portati, senz a esser mai vinti pure vna Volta, poi che si debbe dar l'honore a chi merita, & ch' e senz a menda. Pero per queste ordoniammo, commandiammo, e sententiammo, che a gloria, a honore, a laude, & a fama, de egregio, e virtuoso Caualiere N. esso sia publicato in tutti quatro i cantoni delle lizze & sbarre, da i Re d'armi, Araldi, & Passauanti, con trombette, e sonatori, con consitimento nostro, & deli giudici del campo, rappresentanti la persona nostra, per lo migliore di tutti i Cauallieri de nostro regno. Et commandiammo che sia posto sopra vn cauallo tutto bianco, e che tutti coloro che vi si truoueranno, cosi donne, come huomini, Vengono con esso noi tutti a piedi, e sia fatta processione generale: e N. Vada sotto il baldachino fino alla chiesa. Appresso commandiammo & ordoniammo, che Vscendo della chiesa, si Vada per tutte le lizze & sbarre, e N. ne prenda la possessione, e per i Re d'Armi gli siano date tutte le chiauì delle dette lizze in segno di Vittoria Et ancora commandiammo, che siano celebrate feste che durino quindici giorni, a laude & gloria del Vittorioso N. E perche ciascuno conosca la real Verità di questo fatto, habbiamo segnata la presente carta con color Vermiglio, e suggellata co'l nostro real suggillo. Data nella nostra Citta di Parigi, a 4. di Luglio, &c.



*The same in English.*

**P**hilip by the grace of God King of *France, &c.* Be it knowen to all men vnto whom these letters shall come, and to euerie other person that take delight or pleasure in Armes, and generally to all Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Marquises, Earles, Princes, Barons, & other Gentlemen, that wee haue celebrated a solempne Triumph, to the honour, praise, and glorie of God, and the commendation of such as did fight in this honourable action of Armes. And being desirous, that they who haue valorouslie performed their parts without receiuing blame or disgrace, should be knowen: to the end honour may be giuen to euerie one according to his merit. Therefore we haue hereby ordeined, commaunded and iudged, for the euerlasting honour, praise, and glorie of the excellent and vertuous Gentleman. *N.* his name shalbe proclaimed in euerie of the foure corners of the Lifts or place of Iusts, by the King of Armes, the Herchaults and Pursuants with our allowance, and by the censure of the Iudges of the field, representing our person: letting all men thereby to knowe, that the said. *N.* is the most excellent and most vertuous Gentleman of Armes in all our kingdome. We moreouer commaund, that he shall be mounted vpon a white horse, and that euery person present, aswell women as men shall with vs follow him in Procession on f. ore: & that the said. *N.* shall ride vnder a Canopie vnto the Church. Wee likewise ordaine and commaund that in returne from the Church, we shall passe through the place of Iusts, and there the said. *N.* to take possession, and the keyes of the said Lifts to be deliuered him by the King of Armes in signe of victorie. Lastly, we commaund, that the celebration of the feast shall continue the space of xv. dayes, to the commendation and glory of the victorious. *N.* And in witnes of the very troth in this matter, we haue signed these letters with red inke, and thereunto haue set our Royall seale. Dated in our Citie of *Paris*, the 4. of Iuly, &c.

What the vse at this time in like cases is, may appeare by the Prizes aforesaide bestowed by her Ma-iestie.

THE





## THE FIFT BOOKE.

*Of what qualitie a Gentleman professing  
Armes ought to be.*

### CAP. I.



Y<sup>e</sup> consideration of things contei-  
ned in these bookes, a Gentleman  
may bee enformed what are the  
true causes of quarrell or offence  
vnto Honor; what repulses are  
due vnto Iniuries of all sorts; what  
iudgement is to be giuen vpon accidents in the exer-  
cises of Armes. Whereunto wee added some parti-  
cular examples of certeine Combats for life perfor-  
med by persons of honor within this land: and like-  
wise haue noted the actions most glorious in Tri-  
umphs brought before the Princes of this realme.  
And forsomuch as these actions of Armes (chieflic  
on horsebacke) are, and euer haue been vsed of noble  
personages and Gentlemen of the best sort, whom  
the *Romanes* in their flourishing time by a generall  
terme called *Equites*, and are presentlie both of the *I-*  
*talians* and *Spaniards* named *Cavallieri*, without re-  
spect to priuate dignitie or other distinction: wee  
will



will therefore for this time (yet with respect to each mans title) aduenture to english the word *Eques*, a Gentleman that professeth Honor, Vertue & Armes, or any of them, particularly reciting with what condition and qualities he should bee endued: which in briebe are these.

1 First, he ought be of good constitution in bodie, and conuenient strength to suffer trauell, and performe the actions apperteining to a man of Armes.

2 Secondly, he should be well fauoured of face and comelie: for commonlie GOD and Nature giueth beautie to such persons as are destined to command, and from others borne to obay they haue withholden that fauour. Which mooued some writers to affirme, that the princelie presence of *Priamus* did shewe him to bee worthie of gouernment and command other men.

3 Thirdly, he should be of bold aspect, rather inclined to seueritie than softnesse: which countenance the *Swisses* and *Turkes* doo much affect.

4 Fourthly, he must be sober and discreet; not inclined to vaine delights or effeminate pleasures.

5 Fiftlie, that he be obedient. For of obedience proceedeth that the meaner are content to bee commanded by the better, and the ignorant by those that know. This vertue was greatlie imbraced of the *Romanes*, and occasioned their often victories: and at this day is well obserued among the *Turkes*. And of the punishment for disobedience towards the militarie Magistrates, the *Romanes* haue left two most notable examples; the one of *Manlius Torquatus*, who caused his owne sonne for that fault to be slaine, notwithstanding



withstanding he had vanquished the enemie. The other of *Papirius* the Dictator, who for the like offence was punished by *Fabius Rutilius* Generall of the horsemen in the *Romane* Armie.

6 Sixtly, he ought bee vigilant and patient: for in the one consisteth the execution of warlike actions: by the other all trauailes, paines, and misfortunes are indured.

7 Seuenthly, he must be faithfull and loyall, which qualitie is required in all sorts of subiects, but chiefly in Soldiers, for thereupon dependeth his Princes securitie and state also: which mooued *Vigeti*us to say that the safetie of a Prince consisted in well choosing his Soldiers. Which is the cause that men professing Armes, doo commonlie sweare by the faith of a Soldier: the *French* man, *a foy de Soldat*: the *Italian*, *a fe di Soldato*, &c. Yea the Kings of *France* do commonlie vse this phrase, *a foy de gentil home*: *a foy du chiuallier*.

8 Eightly, he ought bee constant and resolute; because resolution maketh al difficulties easie, and constancie or perseuerance bringeth perfection in that he professeth.

9 Ninthly, that hee should bee charitable, because warres are not taken in hand for the destruction of Countries and townes, but the defence of the lawes and people.

Lastly, that he should be fortunate, sith Fortune is the Ladie of Armies, because she sheweth her vertue in nothing more, than in the aduentures of warre.



**F**Orsomuch as in these former bookes wee haue  
 discoursed the poynts of Honor, and in what  
 sort the exercises of Armes haue been vsed in  
*England*; it shall not be amisse but rather necessarie to  
 speake of Knighthood; which dignitie was at the  
 beginning giuen chieflie for seruice in Armes and  
 valiant enterprises. Our meaning therefore is, to exa-  
 mine the originall occasion of the name of Knight,  
 and how many orders and degrees of Knighthood  
 there are or haue been in Christendome. For perfor-  
 mance whereof, it behoueth to knowe that the *Ro-*  
*manes* (among whom Martiall Discipline was first  
 knowne, and names giuen to men for valerous me-  
 rite) diuided their people into *Patritij* and *Plebei*. Af-  
 ter that time, another diuisiō was made, as, *Senatores*,  
*Equites* and *Plebs*. As the *French* haue at this day *Les*  
*nobles & la populaire*, or *gentils homes & villains*. And  
 wee in *England* diuide our men into foure sorts, *Gen-*  
*tilmen*, *Citizens*, *Yeomen*, *Artificers* and *Labourers*. Of  
 Gentlemen, the first and principall is the King, the  
 Prince, Dukes, Marquises, Earles, Viconts, and Ba-  
 rons. These are the Nobilitie, and be called Lords or  
 Noblemen. Next to these bee Knights, Esquires, and  
 simple Gentlemen: which last number may be called  
*Nobilitas minor*: for they in Parliament haue no place  
 among the Lords. Therefore the Barons or degree  
 of Lords doo resemble the dignitie of Senators in  
*Rome*, and the title of our Nobilitie is like vnto the  
*Patritij*,



## of Honor and Armes.

5

*Patritij*, when the *Patritij* did signifie *Senatores aut Senatorum filij*. But that degree which we doo now call Knighthood, is most like vnto the title in *Rome* named *Equestris ordo*: yet other opinions there are both of the beginning and name of Knight, as wel among the *Italians* as the *Spaniards*. But howsoever it was, most certaine it seemeth, that vntil *Equestris ordo* was erected in *Rome*, there was no such degree of men as we call Knights, neither was that name giuen with such ceremonie and shewe of dignitie, as since hath been vsed. Yet some there are that faile not to affirme that Knighthood had the originall from *Romulus*, in this sort.

That King hauing setled his Government in *Rome*, partlie for securitie, & partlie for magnificence erected three Bands of Horsemen, the first called *Romence* after his owne name, the next *Titience*, after *Tito Tatio*, and the third *Luceria*, whereof only I thinke *Liui* maketh mention. Hereupon they will inferre that Knighthood begun vnder *Romulus*.

The *Spaniards* doo hold opinion, that when faith and plaine dealing decaied, those men that made profession of warre, cuerie thousand did choose but one man whom they thought to bee of greatest wisdom, courage and curtesie among the rest. That being done, they made choise of such an horse as was reputed to excell the rest for beautie, force, and other perfections, and forthwith gaue that beast vnto that man whom they had chosen, as though their intention were to conioyne that singular beast vnto that notable man, naming him *Cavaliero*, which signifieth Horseman, though we improperly english it Knight.



Thus much is said in generall concerning Gentlemen that make profession of Armes, whom the *Romanes* (as it seemeth) sometimes called *Milites*, and some other times *Equites*. The *Italians* and *Spaniards* *Cavalieri*: the *French*, *Cheualiers*. But in our language (as is now vsed) none are called Knights, but onelie they that haue that title giuen by the Prince, or his Lieutenant, with a ceremonie thereunto belonging. And of Knights made according to the vse of *England*, are diuers degrees: as shall hereafter be declared.

*The originall of Knighthood giuen as dignitie,  
and what Princes haue authoritie to make  
Knights.*

## CAP. 3.

**I**T is affirmed by some writers, that *Alexander* the great, with the aduise of his learned tutor *Aristotle*, resolved to bestowe vppon such persons as had done any notable seruice in the warre, some honor and degree, in token of extraordinarie vertue and notable merite: and therefore gaue vnto some Badges, to some Cheines, to some Priuileges, and other such like demonstrations of honor.

The *Romane* Emperours in like manner, sometimes before the beginning of a seruice, and sometimes after, bestowed not onlie commendation, but also dignities on those whose vertue they thought so worthie: as Crownets of Bayes, of Gold, of Myrtill, or some other thing, as was thought fit to the giuers. They gaue also Horses, Swords, Armour, arming  
Garments,



weightie occasion(as is reported). Notwithſtāding, the ſame is, and long hath been in ſo great honor, as Emperours, Kings and Princes haue deſired to bee of that companie, accompting it great Honor.

The number of this Colledge or fellowſhip is 26. Knights, and when any of them dye, another is choſen by conſent of the companie.

The Soueraigne of the Order is the King of *England*, his heires and ſucceſſors.



**T**He habit of theſe Knights is a Kirtle, Gowne, Cloak, Chapperon, Coller, whereat hāgeth the image of *S. George*. Also a Garter richlie furniſhed with gold and precious ſtones, wherevpō theſe French words are written : *Hony ſoyt qui mal y pence*. Which may bee thus in *English* : *Euill come to him, that euill thinketh*.

This Order was dedicated to *S. George*, as the Ad- uocate of thoſe Knights.

The cuſtome was long, that theſe Knights yeerely held a feaſt at the Caſtle of *Winſor*, where is alſo the Church founded by the ſame King *Edward*, who likewiſe gaue great ſtipends to certeine Priſtes to ſerue there.

It is not commonlie knowne what was the occa- ſion that mooued the King to make this Order : but thus haue I heard it vulgarlie reported. That King  
*Edward*



*Edward* dauncing with the *Queene* and other Ladies of his Court, tooke vp a Garter that happened to fall from one of them: whereat some of the Lords smiling, the King said vnto them, that or it were long he would make that Garter to bee of high reputation. Vpon this ground (it is sayd) the Order tooke beginning.

Euerie yeare all the Knights on the feast day of *S. George*, are bound to resort vnto *Windsor*, or such other place as by the Soueraigne shall be appoynted.

The principall Officers appertaining to this most honorable Order, are these. The Prelate. The Chancellor. The Register. The King of Armes named *Garter*: and the Vsher called the *Blacke Rod*. Which places are presentlie furnished with these persons.  
*viz.*

*Doctor Cooper* Bishop of *Winchester*, Prelate.

*Master Iohn Wolly* Esquire, one of her Maiesties priuie Counsell, Chauncellor.

*Doctor Day* Deane of *Windsor*, Register.

*Master W. Dethicke* chiefe King of Armes, *Garter*.

*Master William Norris* Esquire, Vsher.

The Statutes of this great Order are remaining with the sayd *Master Garter*, a Gentleman verie studious in his facultie, and carefull to preserue the Records belonging vnto the Nobilitie of *England*. From him I receiued the names of these Knights of the first institution of the *GARTER*, which I found in an auncient booke of his written in the French tongue.



**The first Knights of  
the Order.**

King *Edward Souveraine.* Sir *Thomas de Holland.*

The Prince of *Wales* his  
sonne. Sir *Iohn de Grey.*

The Duke of *Lancaster.*

Sir *Richard Fitzsimond.*

The Earle of *Warwicke.*

Sir *Miles Stapleton.*

The Capteine de *Buch.*

Sir *Thomas Walle.*

The Earle of *Stafford.*

Sir *Hugh Wortesley.*

The Earle of *Salisburie.*

Sir *Neel Loring.*

The Lord *Mortimer.*

Sir *Iohn Chandos.*

Sir *Iohn Lisle.*

Sir *Iames Dandely.*

Sir *Bartholmew de Bour-*  
*ches.*

Sir *de Holang.*

Sir *Iohn Bewchamp.*

Sir *Henrie Eme.*

The Lord of *Mahun.*

Sir *Faucher de Prichcourt.*

Sir *Hugh Courtney.*

Sir *Walter Pauelly.*



The names of those that are presentlie of  
*the same most noble Order.*

The Queene of England Soueraigne.

The King of Spaine.

The Duke Casemirus.

The Vice Conte Montacute,

The Earle of Shrewsburie, Earle Marshall of England.

The Lord of Honsdon, Lord Chamberlein.

The Earle of Warwicke.

The Earle of Huntingdon.

The Lord Bourleigh, Lord Threasurer of England.

The Lord Grey.

The Earle of Darbie.

The Earle of Pembroke.

The L. Howard of Effingham, L. Admirall of England.

The Lord Cobham.

The Lord Scroope.

The Earle of Essex.

The Earle of Ormond.

Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chauncelor of England.

The Earle of Suffex.

The Lord Buckhurst.

*Other*



Other degrees of Knighthood in  
England.

C A P. 8.

**T**Hree other sorts of Knights there are in *England*: but because they weare no garment, badge or signe to shewe the difference of their degree from other Gentlemen, they are not noted or known to strangers for Knights. Yet among our selues wee knowe them right well: for euerie man hauing that dignitie is called *Sir*. As *Sir Thomas, Sir Iohn, Sir William, &c.*

But here is to be noted, that Knights are not borne, but made, either before a Battaile to encourage them to aduenture their liues, or after the fight, as an advancement for their valour then shewed: or out of warre they are made for some notable seruice done, or some good hope of vertues that doo appeare in them.

These Knights are made either by the King himselfe, or by his commission and royall authoritie giuen for that purpose, or by his Lieutenant in the wars, who hath his royall & absolute power for that time. And this order may be resembled to that which the *Romanes* called *Equites Romanos*, differing in a sort, but in some other sort doth agree with it: for seldome in all poynts one Common wealth doth agree with another, nor long any State accordeth with it selfe. *Equites Romani* were chosen *ex Censu*, which is according to their substance and riches: Euen so be Knights in *England* for the most part, according to the yearly re-



uenew of their lands, being able to mainteine that estate: yet all they that had *Equestrem Censum*, were not in *Rome Equites*: no more are all Knights in *England* that may dispend a Knights land or fee, but they onlie to whom it pleaseth the King to giue that honor. In *Rome* the number of *Equites* was vncerteine, and so is it of Knights in *England* at the pleasure of the Prince.

*Equites Romani* had *Equum publicum*, but the Knights of *England* find horses themselves both in peace and warre. *Census Equester* among the *Romanes* was at diuers times of diuers valewe: but in *England*, who so euer may dispend of his free lands fortie pounds starling of yearely reuenew, by an old lawe, either at the Coronation of the King, or mariage of his daughter, or at the dubbing of the Prince, Knight, or some such great occasion, may bee by the King compelled to take that order and honor, or to pay a fine: which many rich men, not so desirous of honor as of riches, had rather disburse. Some also who for good respect are not thought worthie that title, and yet haue abilitie, neither bee made Knights though they would, and yet pay the fine of fortie pounds starling, which (as siluer is now prised) is 120. pound currant monie. Wherof this word *Knight* is deriued: or whether it signifieth no more but that which *Miles* doth in Latin, which is Soldier, I know not. Some hold opiniō that the word *Soldier* doth betoken a waged or hired man to fight. *Cesar* in his *Commentaries* called *Soldiers*, men deuoted and sworne by band or oath to serue the Capteine: which order if the *Almaines* did followe, it may bee that they who were not hiered, but



but being of the Nation vppon their owne charges and for their aduancement, and by such common oath and band that did followe the warre, were (perhaps) called *Knights* or *Milites*: and now among the *Almaines* some are called *Lance-Knights*, as Soldiers not hiered, although they bee well neere all hiered. Or it may bee that they which were next about the Prince, as his Gard and seruants, picked and choyse men out of the rest, being called in the *Almaine* tung *Knigheten*, which is as much to say as Seruants: these men being found of good seruice, the word afterward was taken for an Honor, & for a man that professeth Armes. Now our language is so altered, that hard it were to giue iudgement thereof. But sure it is, wee in our English doo call him *Knight*, whom the French doo call *Cheualier*, and the Latin *Equitem*, or *Equestris ordinis*.

Touching the making of these *English* Knights: the manner is this. Hee that is to be made Knight, is striken by the Prince with a Sword drawne, vpon his backe or shoulder: the Prince saying, *Soys Cheualier*, and in times past was added *S. George*. And when the Knight riseth, the Prince saith, *Auancé*. This is the manner of dubbing Knights at this present: and that terme dubbing was the old terme in this poynt, and not creating. These sorts of Knights, are by the Here-haults called *Knights Batchelers*.



## Of Knights of the Bath.

**A**T the Coronation of a King or Queene there are made Knights of the *Bath*, with long and curious Ceremonies, whereof I am not perfectly enformed.

## Of Knights Bannerets.

**T**Hese Knights are made in the field onlie, with the Ceremonie of cutting away the point of his Standard, and making it as it were a Banner: he being before a Batcheler Knight, shall then become of greater degree, allowed to display his Armes in a Banner, as Barons do: and the wiues of all these three degrees of Knights shall be called Ladies, as Barons wiues are.

The



Garments, & such like: and they that receiued them, in token of Honor kept them carefullie in perpetuall memorie of their owne valour, and the honor of that Prince who gaue them. By this meane also they became much admired and esteemed of all other Soldiers.

Afterwards, for more incouragement of vertuous minds, other Princes thought meete that the memorable acts of Soldiers should be in perpetual memorie written, and such Priuileges as were giuen, to bee recorded, calling them in those writings valiant men, companions in Armes, victorious Soldiers and Knights. Which manner of proceeding did animate the men of warr no lesse, than the great pourtraitures which the old *Romanes* were wont to make for those that had performed egregious acts.

Touching the making of Knights, we say, that euerie Prince soueraine hath power to giue that dignitie to what person it pleaseth him, as well in peace as warre. But here is to be noted, that the Knights made, are of more or lesse reputation, according to the qualitie of that Prince that maketh them: for he that is made Knight by a King, shall bee preferred before a Knight made by a Prince of meaner title. Wherefore to conclude, wee say, that an Emperour, Kings, Dukes, and other Princes, acknowledging no superiour, may make Knights: and so may Common weales, as the *Venetian* and *Genoa* States. The Popes also doo take vppon them to make Knights for monie, calling them commonlie after their owne names: *Cauallieri di San Pietro, San Paulo, Giuliani, Pij, &c.*



*The manner of making Knights, about the yere  
of our Lord. 1020.*

## CAP. 4.

**I**N that age, a Prince determining to make a Knight, caused a high scaffold to bee built in some Cathedrall Church of his kingdome, or other spacious place neere vnto it. Thether the Gentleman was brought to receiue that honor. Being come, he was forthwith set vpon a Chaire of siluer couered with greene silke. Then was demanded of him, if he were healthie in bodie, and able to endure the exercises required in a Soldier. Also, whether he were a man of honest conuersation, and what witnesses worthie credite he could produce to answere for him. This being done, the Bishop or chiefe officer of that Church tooke the Bible, and holding it open before the newe Knight, in the presence of the King and all others, spake these words, saying. *Sir, you that desire to receiue the order of Knighthood, sweare before God and by this holie Bible, that ye shall neuer fight against this mightie and excellent Prince that bestoweth the order of Knighthood vpon you, vnlesse ye shall be occasioned so to doo in the seruice of your owne King and naturall Prince: for in that case (hauing first yeelded vp the Coller, deuise, and other Ensignes of Honor now receiued) it shall bee lawfull for you to serue against him, without reproach or offence to all other companions in Armes: but otherwise dooing you shall incurre infamie, and being taken in warre, shall bee subiect to the paines of death. Ye shall also sweare, with all your force & power to mainteine and defend al Ladies, Gentle-*  
women,



## *of Honor and Armes.*

9

women, Orphants, widowes, women distressed and abandoned. The like ye must doo for wines being desired, and shunne no aduventure of your person in euerie good warre wherein ye happen to be.

This oath taken, two of the chiefe Lords led him vnto the King, who presentlie drew forth his Sword and laied the same vpon his head, and said: *God and S. George* (or what other Saincts the King pleased to name) *make thee a good Knight.*

Then came vnto the Knight seuen noble maidens attired in white, and girt his Sword vnto his side.

That being done, foure Knights of the most honorable in that presence put on his Spurres.

These ceremonies past, the Queene tooke him by the right arme, and a Dutchesse by the left, and led him vnto a rich seate made on high, and thereupon set him: the King sitting downe on the one hand, and the Queene on the other.

After the King and Queene were thus set, and the newe Knight betweene them, al the rest of the Lords and Ladies set them downe also vppon other seates prepared for them, three dissents vnder the Kings seate.

Euerie Lord and Ladie being in this sort placed, thether was brought a solemne Collation or Banquet of delicate meates, whereof the Knight, the King, the Queene, and the whole companie did eate. And so the Ceremonie ended.



*The order of disgrading of Knights in those daies.*

## CAP. 5.

**I**F any Knight had in that time been corrupted with monie by his Princes enemy, or committed any other notable fault against loyalty and honor, the other Knights forthwith made humble suite unto the King that he might be punished. Which request being granted, they apprehended the offender, and caused him to be armed from head to foote, in such sort as if he should go to the field. Which done, they led him up to an high stage made in a Church for that purpose, where were thirteene Priests saying those prayers ordinarily used at Burials, as though that Knight had lien dead at their secte. At the end of euerie Psalm they tooke from him one peece of his Armour. First, *they tooke off his Helmet as that which defended his traiterous eyes*, then *his Gauntlet on the right side as that which couered a corrupt hand*: then *the Gauntlet of the left hand, as from a member consenting*. And so by peccemeale dispoyled him of all his Armes, as well offensive as defensive, which one after another were throwne to the ground: and at the instant when euerie part of Armour was cast downe, the King of Armes first, and after him all the other Herehaults cried aloud, saying: *This is the Helmet of a disloyall and miscreant Knight*. Then was brought thether a Bason of gold or silver full of warme water: which being holden up, the Herehaults with a loud voyce, sayd: *What is this Knights name?* The Pursuants



uants answered that which in trueth was his name. Then the King of Armes sayd. *That is not true, for he is a miscreant and false traitor, and such a one as hath broken the ordinance of Knighthood.* Thereunto answered the Chaplins. *Let vs giue him his right name.* Then spake the Trompets. *What shall be done with him?* To which words the King answered: *Let him bee with dishonor and shame banished my kingdome, as a vile and infamous man that hath done offence against the honor of Knighthood.* When the King had so said, the King of Armes and other Herehaults cast the warme water on the disgraded Knights face (as though he were a new baptized) saying: *Hencefoorth thou shalt be called by thy right name Traitor.* Then the King together with twelue other Knights put vppon them mourning garments declaring sorowe: and comming vnto the Knight disgraded put him downe the stage, not by the staiers he mounted vp, when he was made Knight, but threwe him downe tyed vnto a rope. Then with great ignomie he was brought vnto the Altar, and there laied groueling on the ground, and ouer him was read a Psalme full of curses.

These were the Ceremonies vsed at the degradatiō of Knights in the time of *Sir Tristram, Sir Lancelot*, and other famous Knights, who were (no doubt) men very valiant in Armes: but by meanes of writers that haue added vnto their acts many vntuths, their pro- wesse and enterprises are holden as fables.



*How many orders and degrees of Knighthood  
haue been: and of them how many yet ex-  
tant.*

## CAP. 6.

- 1 **T**He first and most noble order, both for antiqui-  
tie and honor, is that of the *GARTER*.
- 2 The next to it is that of the *TOSON*.
- 3 The third is that of *S. MICHAEL*.
- 4 The fourth is that of the *NUNTIATA*.

5 There is also one newe order of Knighthood in  
*France*, called the Order of *S. ESPRIT*: whereof I  
am not fullie enformed.

All these Knights be called *Knights of the Coller*, in  
signe they excell others in Honor and reputation:  
as those Orders whereinto Emperours, Kings and  
Princes doo enter.

Next to these in dignitie, are

- 1 The Knights of the *BAND*.
- 2 The Knights of *S. IAGO*.
- 3 The Knights of *CALATRAVA*.
- 4 The Knights of *ALCANTARA*.
- 5 The Knights of *MONTESIO*.
- 6 The Knights of *REDEMPTION*.
- 7 The Knights of *MALTA*.
- 8 The Knights *TEVTONICI*.

The



The third sort of Knights, are

- 1 The Knights of the *SEPULCHER*.
- 2 The Knights of *SANTA MARIA*.
- 3 The Knights of *S. LAZARO*.
- 4 The Knights of *S. STEFFANO*.

These may bee called rather Knights of Superstition, than persons of Honor.

Among these, wee make no mention of Knights of the *Round Table*: neither haue wee set downe the Knights of *Amadis de Gaule*, nor of *Orlando Furioso*: Yet doo I suppose some part of those stories to bee matters of trueth, although writers haue added vnto them things incredible. By which meane the histories themselves are holden fabulous.

Wee haue not here spoken of the Knights of the *Starre*, nor of them which were called Knights of the *Spurre*: which orders are extinct or not regarded. The Knights *Templers* were also long since cleerely suppressed.



## Of the Order of the Garter.

CAP. 7.



**E**DWARD the third King of *England*, after he had obtained many great victories, (*King Iohn of France*, *King Iames of Scotland*, being both prisoners in the Tower of *London* at one time, and *King Henrie of Castile* the bastard expelled, and *Don Pedro* restored by the Prince of *Wales*) did first erect this Order in his Kingdome Anno 1350. vppon no weighthie



*The Order of the Toson, and the originall thereof.*

CAP. 9.



**T**He number of Knights that were at the first admitted into this Order was 31. who ought bee of noble bloud, men of good merite, and without reproach.

The chiefe or head of this companie, is he vnto whom the succession of the Dukedome of *Burgondy* doth lawfullie discend.

Who-



Whosoever entereth into this Order, shall renounce all other Orders of Knighthood of euerie Prince, Companie or Religion. Yet out of that lawe are excepted all Emperours, Kings and Dukes, vnto whom is dispensed, that they may weare the Badge of this Order, if they bee chiefe and Soueraines of their owne Order. But to the end the truth may appeare, a generall Counsell of Knights shall bee called to consent vnto that dispensation.

The Soueraine of this Order, hath authoritie himselfe alone to giue and bestowe the Ensigne of the Order: which is a Coller of gold, wherein are the Armes of *Burgondie*, hauing the *Toson* of gold hanging thereat. This Coller, the Soueraine and euerie of the Knights is bound to weare daylic, and failing thereof shall incurre a penaltie. But in time of warre or great affaires, to weare the *Toson* onlie shall suffice. Or if by mishap the Cheine doo breake, it is lawfull for mending thereof it may be carried to the Goldsmith. Or if any Knight trauailing by the way shall doubt to be robbed, he may without offence lay by or hide his Cheine. Yet is it not lawfull to encrease the quantitie of the said Cheine, nor adde thereunto any other stones or workmanship, and most of all it is vnlawfull to sell it, engage it, or exchange it.

These and many other Statutes and ordinances the Knights of this noble Order are sworne to obserue and keepe. And many of them haue been sith the first institution enlarged, altered, or taken away by the Soueraines of the said Order.

The day of assemblie for these Knights, was at the  
first



first institution appoynted on the feast of *S. Andrew*, but sithence altered vnto the second of May, and that but once in three yeares, vnlesse it shall please the Soueraine otherwise to command.

To this Order doo belong foure principall Officers. That is, a Chauncelor, a Threasurer, a Register, a King of Armes named *Toson d'oro*.

The first inuenter of the *Impresa* belonging to the Order of the *Toson*, was *Charles Duke of Burgondie*, whose great valour brought the *French King Lewis* the xj. into much trouble and warre, as *Monsier de Argenton* writeth.

His *Impresa* or deuise was an Instrument made to strike fire, with these words: *Ante ferit, quam flammam micet*. Meaning, he had power to kindle great warre, as indeed he had. But his warres had vnhappy euent. For hauing in hand a warre against *Lorayn* and the *Swisses*, after the defeate of *Morat* and *Grauson*, he was vtterlie ouerthrowne and flaine before *Nansi*, the euen of the *Epiphany*. Wherevpon *Renato Duke of Lorayn* being victorious, and seeing a Standard of Duke *Charles*, with the *Impresa* of the Instrument of fire, said. *That unhappie Prince when hee had most neede to warme him, wanted leisure to strike fire.* Which speach was verie pithie; and the more, for that the earth was then couered with Snowe, and by reason of the conflict full of bloud. At that time was the greatest frost and cold that any liuing man could remember.

The *Toson* which these Knights doo weare hanging at their collers of the Order, is the forme of a golden Fleece, expounded to bee like vnto the Fleece of



gold which *Iason* wonne at *Colchos*. Others suppose it to bee the Fleece of *Gedeon*, whereof is made mention in holie Scripture : which signifieth, *Fidelitie* or *Iustice* vncorrupted.

The number of these Knights was much encreased by the Emperour *Charles* the fift : who hauing in hand the Dukedome of *Burgondie*, elected into that Order persons of greater qualitie than were at the first, and would haue that the election should bee by consent. And after him King *Phillip* did the like.

Here is to bee noted, that albeit Duke *Charles* did inuent the *Impresa* : yet the Creation was begun after by Duke *Phillip*, sir named *Le bon* : at such time as he called a generall assemblie of the States at the *Hage* in *Holland*. Anno. 1456.

The



The names of Knights in this  
*first Creation.*

*Phillip Duke of Burgondie, Soueraine.*  
*William of Vienna of S. George.*  
*Rinieri Pot, Lord of the Castell.*  
*The Lord of Rembaix.*  
*The Lord Montacute.*  
*Orland of Vquerque.*  
*Anthonie of Vergi, Conte of Ligny.*  
*Hugh of Lanoij, Lord of Santes.*  
*Iohn, Lord of Cominges.*  
*Anthonie of Tolongeon, Marshall of Burgondie.*  
*Peter of Lucimburg, Conte of Beurenne.*  
*Gilbert of Lanoij, Lord of Villernal.*  
*Iohn Villiers, Lord of Isleadam.*  
*Anthonie Lord of Croij and of Renti.*  
*Florimonte of Brimeu, Lord of Massincure.*  
*Robert, Lord of Mamimes.*  
*Iames of Brimeu, Lord of Grigni.*  
*Baldwin Lanoij, Lord of Mulambais.*  
*Peter of Bausfremont, Lord of Cargni.*  
*Phillip, Lord of Teruant.*  
*Iohn of Orequi.*  
*Iohn of Croij Lord of Tuors, super Marne.*



The Knights elected into the Order of Toson, by Phillip King of Spaine and Duke of Burgondie.

- 1 Phillip Duke of *Austria*, and King of *Spaine*, Sovereaine of the Order.
- 2 Maximilian the Emperour, second of that name.
- 3 Don Beltramo della Cueva, Duke of *Alburquerque*.
- 4 Don Inigo Lopes di Mendoza, Duke of *Infantazgo*.
- 5 Cosmo di Medici Duke of *Florence*, and of *Siena*.
- 6 Don Emanuel Filibert, Duke of *Sauoya*.
- 7 The Admiral Conte of *Egmont*, Prince of *Gaure*.
- 8 Iohn of Ligni Conte of *Arumberghe*, Baron of *Brabanson*.
- 9 Octauio Farnese Duke of *Parma* and *Piacenza*.
- 10 Marco Antonio Colonna, Duke of *Palliano* and Baron of *Rome*.
- 11 Ferdinando Duke of *Austria*.
- 12 Don Consaluo Fernandes of *Cordoua*, Duke of *Sessa* and *Ferranoua*, Conte of *Cabia*.
- 13 Don Pedro Hernandes of *Velasco* Duke *Frius*, Conestable of *Castiglia*.
- 14 Don Fernando Aluares of *Toledo* Duke of *Alua*.
- 15 Albert, Duke of *Bauiera*.
- 16 Henrie Duke of *Branswiche Luniburg*.
- 17 Pietro Hernesto Conte di *Mansfelt*.
- 18 Phillip de Croij, Duke of *Arscot*.
- 19 Charles Prince of *Spaine*.
- 20 Phillip Montmorancy Conte of *Horne*.

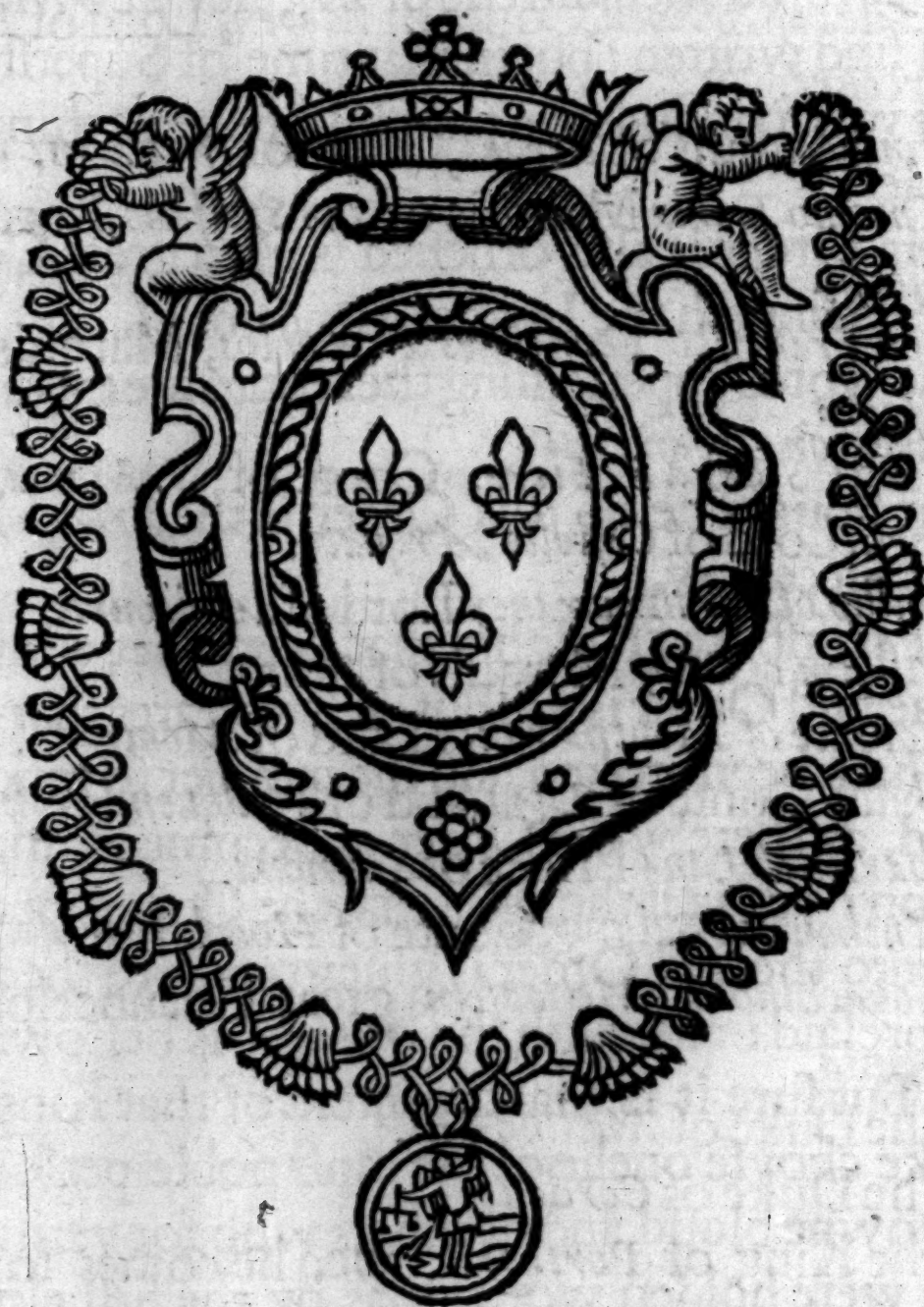
21 William



*of Honor and Armes.* 29

- 21 *William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, and Lord of Breda.*
- 22 *Iohn Conte of Ostfaie.*
- 23 *Charles Baron of Barlemont, Lord of Perunet.*
- 24 *Charles of Brimen, Conte of Megen, Lord of Huercourt.*
- 25 *Iohn, Marquis of Berges, Conte of Walhayn.*
- 26 *Antonio Doria Marquis of San Steffano, Lord of Gierfa.*
- 27 *Don Francisco Fernandes d' Auolos, Marquis of Piscara.*
- 28 *Sforza Sforza S. Fiore, Conte of S. Maria, of Versi, Lord of Castello Arquato.*
- 29 *Phillip of Montmorancy Lord of Aricourt.*
- 30 *William of Croij Marquis of Renty.*
- 31 *Florence of Montmorancy Lord of Montegni.*
- 32 *Phillip Conte of Ligni, and of Faulquembergh.*
- 33 *Charles of Lanij Prince of Sulmona.*
- 34 *Anthony of Salaing Conte of Hoochstrat.*
- 35 *Giouachino of Mehaussem great Chauncelor of Boemia.*
- 36 *The Duke of Medina Celi.*
- 37 *The Duke of Cordona.*
- 38 *The King of Portugall when he comes to full age.*





**I**N the yeare 1469. *Lewis* the xj. then *French King* erected an Order of Knighthood, whereinto himselfe, with others the most principall Peeres of *France* did enter.

It is said, the occasion which mooued the King to intitle this Order with the name of *S. Michael*, was the memorie of an apparition of that Saint vpon the  
bridge



bridge of *Orleance*, when that Citie was assailed by the *English*: at which time liued a certeine Maiden called *Ioane*, a woman so rare of wit and valiant in Armes, as was reputed more than a mortall creature, or rather some Inchantresse of singuler knowledge. This I find written: but in that time of Superstition easie it was to induce the people to beleue things incredible.

This Order is also ornesied with a great Coller, whereat hangeth the Image of *S. Michael*.

The words apperteining thereunto are these: *Immensi tremor Oceani.*

The Soueraine of this Order is the *French King* and his successors.

The number of Knights that ought bee admitted into the said Order is 36. But of late yeares that ordinance hath been broken, and the number so much increased, as thereby the Order is become of small reputation: yet is it thought that the Coller apperteining vnto the said Order is giuen onelie to the number aforesaid: although the *Michael* is bestowed on many. But sure it is that the intent of that King was to make choyse onelie of the most noble personages of his owne bloud, and of others who for vertue and honor were holden worthie, as by the first election appeared: who were these.

The





## The first Knights of the Order of S. Michael.

*Lewis the xj. Soueraine.*

*King Charles of Spaine Duke of Vienna.*

*Iohn Duke of Burbon and of Auergne.*

*Lewis of Lucimburg, Conte of S. Paule, and Conestable  
of France.*

*Andrew di Laual, Lord of Loheac, Marshall of France.*

*Iohn Conte of Sanferre, Lord of Bueil.*

*Lewis of Beaumont, Lord of the Forrest and of Plessis  
Mace.*

*Iohn of Tutuille Lord of Castiglione.*

*Lewis Bastard of Burbon, Conte of Rosfiglione Admi-  
rall of France.*

*Anthony of Chiabanes, Conte of Dammartin, Grand  
master of the Kings house.*

*Iohn*



*of Honor and Armes.*

33

*John Bastard of Armignac, Conte of Cominges, Marshall of France, and Gouvernour of the Delfinato.*

*George of Trimouille, Lord of Craon.*

*Gilbert of Gabanes, Lord of Croton, Seneschall of Vienna.*

*Lewis Lord of Cursol, Seneschall of Poitou.*

*Tanequi of Castello, Gouvernour of the Prouince of Rossiglion and of Sardena.*

The rest of Knights to be chosen into this Order, was deferred vntill the next meeting.

The place of assemblie of these Knights, & where their Armes and other Ensignes of Knighthood should be preserued, was appointed to be the Church on Mount *S. Michael*.

Vnto this Order were appoynted a Threasurer, a Chauncellor, a Register, and one Herehault named *Monfammichaele*.

The Feast ordeined for these Knights was on *Michaelmas* day yearely to be kept.

The Statutes apperteining vnto this honorable Order, are to be seene in the booke, intituled, *The Ordinances of France*.

S

Of



## Of the Order called the Nuntiata.

CAP. II.



**T**His Order was also about the same time begun by *Amedeo* Conte of *Sauoy*, surnamed *il Verde*, in memorie of *Amedeo* the first Earle, who hauing valerouslie defended the Iland of *Rhody* against the *Turkes*, wanne those Armes, which deseruinglie is now borne by the Dukes of *Sauoya*, which is a white Crosse in a red field. The Coller appertaining



appertaining to this Order, is made of gold, and on it these foure letters ingraued, in this wise. *F. E. R. T.* which signifieth *Fortitudo eius, Rhodum tenuit*. At the said Coller hangeth a Brooch, wherein is the figure of our Ladie and the Angell sent vnto her.

The Church appoynted for Ceremonies appertaining vnto this Order is called *Pietra*, a Castell within the Diocesse of *Belleis*, whereunto was giuen at the foundation of this Order, certeine lands for the sustentation of fifteene Chaplins.

For continuance of this Order, at the time of the constitution were made many honorable ordinances to be kept by the Knights presentlie elected, and after to be elected: which are to bee found written in the works of *Francisco Sansouino*.

These foure Orders aforesaid bee reputed most honorable, and are adorned with great Collers, in token that for state and dignitie they excell the rest.



*Knights of the Band.*

CAP. 12.

**T**His Order was first erected by *Alfonso* King of *Spaine*, sonne to *Ferdinando* and *Queene Constanza* in the yeare 1268. And to giue the sayd *Knighthood* reputation & honor, the King himselfe, with his sonnes and brethren vouchsafed to enter thereinto : with them were also admitted diuers other Gentlemen of best qualitie and greatest estimation.

The cause that mooued the King to name them *Knights of the Band*, was, for that he commanded euerie man elected into the Order, should weare a certeine red scarffe or lace of silke the breadth of three inches, which hung on their left shoulder, and was tyed vnder the right arme.

No man might enter into this *Knighthood*, but such as the King did speciallie admit : neither was any person capable of that dignitie, vnlesse he were the sonne of a Knight, or some Gentleman of great accompt, or at the least such a one as had serued the King by the space of tenne yeares in his Court, or in the warre against the *Moores*.

Into this Order no Gentleman could bee receiued being an elder brother, or an heire in possession or apparance, but onelie such as were yonger, without land and liueload; because the Kings intention was to aduance the Gentlemen of his Court that had not of their owne.

At such time as any Gentleman was admitted a Knight,



Knight, he promised to obserue these Articles following, which I haue thought good particularlie to expresse, & the rather because they tend onlie to enter-teine the minds of men in the offices of Courage and Courtesie, without any mixture of superstition, whereof almost al other Orders in those daies tasted.

First, that he should speake vnto the King for the commoditie of the Common wealth & the defence thereof, so often as he were thereunto required. And refusing so to doo, shall forfeit all his patrimonie, and be banished his Countrie.

That he should aboue all things speake the truth vnto the King, and at euerie occasion bee faithfull to his Maiestie.

That he should not be silent when so euer any person should speake against the Kings honor : vppon paine of being banished the Court, and depriued of his Band for euer.

That he should bee no great speaker, and in speaking to vtter the truth. But if he should affirme or say any vntruth, then for a punishment to walke in the streetes without his sword for one whole moneth.

That he should endeouour himselfe to keepe companie with wise men, and persons experienced in the warre. For being found to conuerse with Marchants, Artificers, or base people, he should bee therefore greatlie reprooued by the Great Master, and for one moneth be commanded to keepe his house.

That he should mainteine his owne word, and faithfullie keepe promise with his friends. And being found to doo otherwise, to be enioyned to walke and goe alone vnaccompanied of any other of the



Kings Court, and should not presume to speake or come neere vnto any other Knight.

That he should alwaies haue good Armour in his Chamber, good horses in his stable, good Launces in his Hall, and a good Sword by his side : or otherwise to be called Page and no Knight for one whole moneth.

That he should not bee seen mounted vppon any Mule, or other vnseemelic Hackney : neither walke abroad without his Band, nor enter into the Kings Pallace without his Sword, nor eate alone at home, vppon paine to forfeit for euerie such offence one marke towards the mainteining of the Tilt.

That he should bee no flatterer of the King or any other person, neither take delight in scoffing, vpon paine to walke on foote for one moneth, and be confined to his house another moneth.

That he should not complaine of any hurt, nor boast of his owne acts, nor in curing his wounds crie oh : for if in vaunting wise he vttered any ostentatious speach, he should bee reprooued by the great Master, and let alone vnuisited of all his companions.

That he should bee no common gamester, chieflie at the Dice, nor consent that others should play in his house, vpon paine to forfeit for euerie such offence one moneths pay, and for one moneth and halfe not to be seene in the Court.

That he should not in any sort lay to pawne his Armour or weapons, nor play away his garments : vppon paine to bee imprisoned in his owne house a whole moneth, and for two moneths following to go without the Band.

That



That he should be daylie apparelled in fine cloath, and on holie daies in silke : and on high Feasts weare gold in his garments if he pleased, without being compelled so to doo. But if he did weare Buskins vpon netherstocks of cloath, the great Master should take them from him, and giue them in almes to the poore.

That in walking either in the Court or Citie, his pace should not be swift or hastie, vpon paine to bee reprobued of his fellowe Knights, and punished at the great Masters discretion.

That he should not speake any thing vnfit or offensive to his fellowes in Armes, vpon paine to aske him forgiuenes, and to bee banished the Court for three moneths.

That he should not commence or enter suite of lawe against the daughter of any Knight, vpon paine neuer to haue Ladie or Gentlewoman of the Court to his mistris or wife.

That if he happened to meete with any Ladie or Gentlewoman of the Court, he should forthwith alight from his horse and offer her his seruice, vpon paine to lose one moneths wages and the fauour of all Ladies.

That if any Ladie of Honor required seruice at his hand, he refusing to doo it (hauing power) should be called for euer the discourteous Knight.

That he should not eate alone, nor at any time feed vpon grosse meates.

That he should not enter quarrell with any of his fellowe Knights : or if any such disagreement did happen, that he nor any other Knight should make  
partie,



partie, but by all good meanes seeke to reconcile them, vpon paine to pay a marke towards the charge of the next Iusts.

That if any man not being of this Order should presume to weare the Band, that then he should bee forced to fight with two Knights: but vanquishing them, should be also a Knight himselfe: & being vanquished, should bee banished the Court, and neuer to weare the Band.

That if at any Iusts or Turnaments in the Court, a Gentleman being not of the Order, should winne the prize, then the King was bound forthwith to make him a Knight of the Band.

That if any Knight of the Band did offer to draw his sword against any of his fellowes: for so dooing should absent himselfe two moneths, and two other moneths weare but halfe his Band. And if a Knight did hurt his fellowe in Armes, he should be imprisoned one halfe yeare, and the next halfe yeare be banished the Court.

That no Knight for any offence should bee punished or iudged, before he were brought to the King and his pleasure signified.

That he should bee euer furnished to attend on the King whensoever he went to the warre: and if any battell were striken, then ought these Knights ioyntlie to giue the charge: and if in any such seruice a Knight performed not his part, he should lose one yeares pay, and one other yeare weare but halfe the Band.

That no Knight should be inforced to serue in any warre, saue onlie against the Infidels. Or attending  
on



on the King to any other warre to weare no Band: and if he serued any other Prince in his warre, he should lose the Band.

That all the Knights should assemble three times a yeare to consult vpon matters pertainning to the Order. The assemblie was at such place as the King pleased to appoynt, and there they awaited with their Horse and Armour: the first meeting was in Aprill, the second in September, and the last in Christmas.

That all the Knights of this Order should fight at the Turney at the least twise euerie yeare, Iust foure times a yeare, play at the Canes sixe times a yeare, and manage horses euerie weeke. And who so failed to performe all or any of these Knightly exercises, should attend on the King one moneth without a Sword, and one other moneth without a Band.

That if the King did come to any citie or towne, that then the Knights within eight daies after, should prepare a place for the Iusts and Turniaments: they should also exercise all other warlike weapons: and if any Knight were negligent in these things, hee should bee confined to his lodging, and weare but halfe the Band.

That no Knight might remaine in Court without a Mistris, with intent to marrie her, and not dishonor her: and whensoever she pleased to walke, he was to attend on her on foote or horsebacke, to doo her all honor and seruice.

That if any Iusts were holden within ten mile of the Court, euerie Knight to bee there, vnder paine to go without his Sword for one moneth, and without his Band another moneth.

T

That



That if any of these Knights were married within twentie miles of the Court, all the rest should accompanie him to the King to receiue a gift, and from thence to the place of wedding to exercise feates of Armes there, and euerie Knight to present the Bride with some gift.

That the first Sonday of euerie moneth, all the Knights should shewe themselves armed before the King, readie to performe any action of Armes at the Kings pleasure: for the King would not haue them be onlie Knights in name, but in deed also.

That in no Turniament there should bee more Knights than thirtie on one partie, and so many on the other partie, & that no Sword should be brought into the place but such as were rabbated both of edge and poynt. And that vpon the sound of Trompet the fight should begin, and at the sound of the Clarions euerie man to cease from fight and retire, vpon paine that who so failed, should neuer more enter into that Combat, and be banished the Court for one moneth.

That at euerie day of Iusts each Knight should passe foure Carieracs, before foure Knights appoynted for Iudges: & they who brake no staues in those courses, should pay the charge of the Iusts.

That if any Knight were sicke and in perrill of death, all other his fellowe Knights should visite him, and exhort him to godlines. And if indeed he did dye, to accompanie his corse to the graue. Also to mourne in blacke one whole moneth, and absent themselves from the exercise of Armes for the space of three moneths, except the King should otherwise command.

That

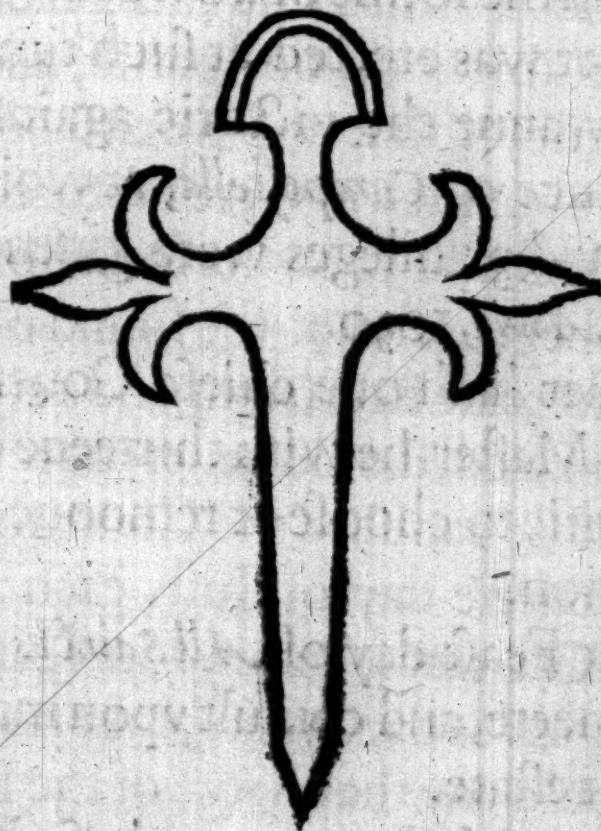


That within two daies after such funerall, all the Knights should assemble, and present the Band of the dead Knight vnto the King, making humble suite for some of his sonnes to succeed, if any of them were meete, praying it would please his Maiestie to be good to the mother, that she might liue according to her honorable calling.

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*Knights of San Jago.*

CAP. 13.



**N**Ext vnto the Knights aforesaid, for honor and estimation are these Knights of *S. Iames* in *Spaine*, by the *Spaniards* called *Cauallieri di San Iago*. The originall of which Order was this.

At such time as the *Arabians* had well neere conquered that Countrie, the remainder of the *Spanish*



people refusing to liue vnder the lawes of that barbarous Nation, retired themselves vnto the mountaines of *Asturia*, and there setled a gouernment.

After some yeares of their abode there, certeine Gentlemen consulting together, determined to make an assotiation and begin a warre vpon the Infidells. These Gentlemen to the number of thirteene, being all Barons and men of great qualitie, agreed also vpon certeine religious rules of Knighthood, yet reseruing vnto themselves libertie of marriage.

The Ensigne which they resolved to weare, was a red Crosse in the forme of a Sword.

This Order was erected at such time as the King *Don Ramiro* wanne the victorie against the *Moors* in the Prouince of *Compostella*, at which time great possessions and priuileges were giuen to *S. Iames* of *Compostella*. *Anno. 1030.*

This Order hath one chiefe Gouernour, who is called Great Master; he with thirteene other Knights haue authoritie to choose or remooue any Knight at their discretion.

Vpon the Feast day of *All Saints* these Knights doo vse to meete, and consult vpon matters appertaining to their estate.

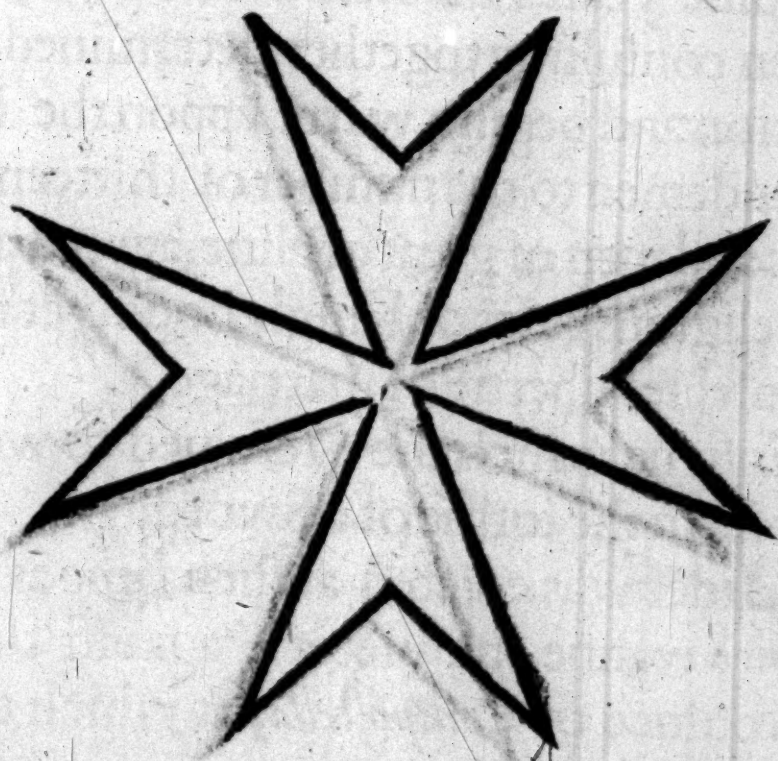
The reuenues belonging to these Knights is merueilous, amounting to many hundred thousand Duc-kets.

Many Popes haue giuen their allowance to this Order, yet either they could not, or would not referue a greater tribute thereof, than ten *Malachini* yearly.



*Knights of Calatraua.*

CAP. 14.



**B**Y imitation of the Order aforesaid, was this  
Knighthood of *Calatraua* begun in the yeare  
1130. The inuenter thereof was *Don Santio*  
King of *Toledo*.

They were called Knights of *Calatraua*, of the Pro-  
uince and place where they were made and settled,  
which was where ancientlie the chiefe Church of  
*Templers* had been, who not being of power suffi-  
cient to resist the *Saracens*, were forced to yeeld the  
place vnto these Knights.

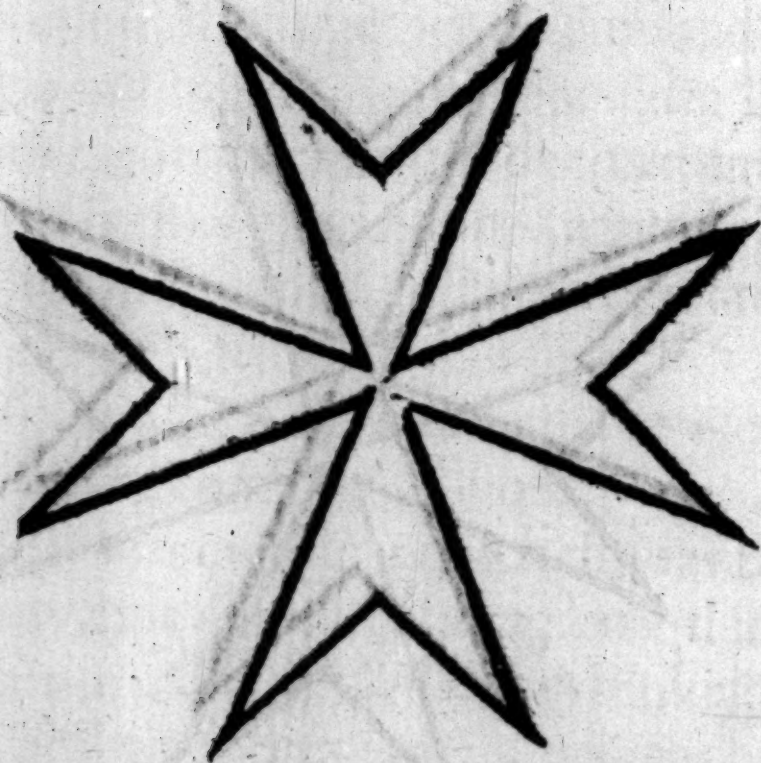
The habit of these Knights is a blacke garment,  
and vpon it in the breast is set a red Crosse.

These Knights haue also exceeding great posses-  
sions, and many *Commandries* in diuers places of  
*Spaine*.



## Knights of Alcantara.

CAP. 15.



**T**Hese Knights liuing in effect vnder the ordinances and rules of the former, doo weare a greene Crosse.

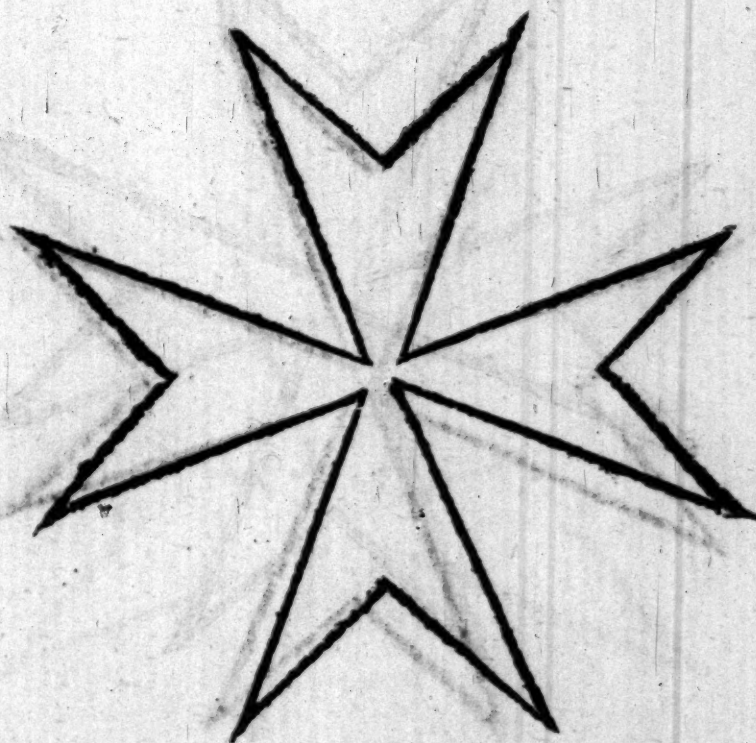
Neere vnto the Citie of *Alcantara* in *Castiglia* vpon the riuer of *Tago*, they haue a Church of great beautie, indowed with rich possessions.

*Knights*



*Knights of Montefio.*

CAP. 16.



**I**N *Valentia* are the *Cauallieri di Montefio*, a place also seated in that Prouince.

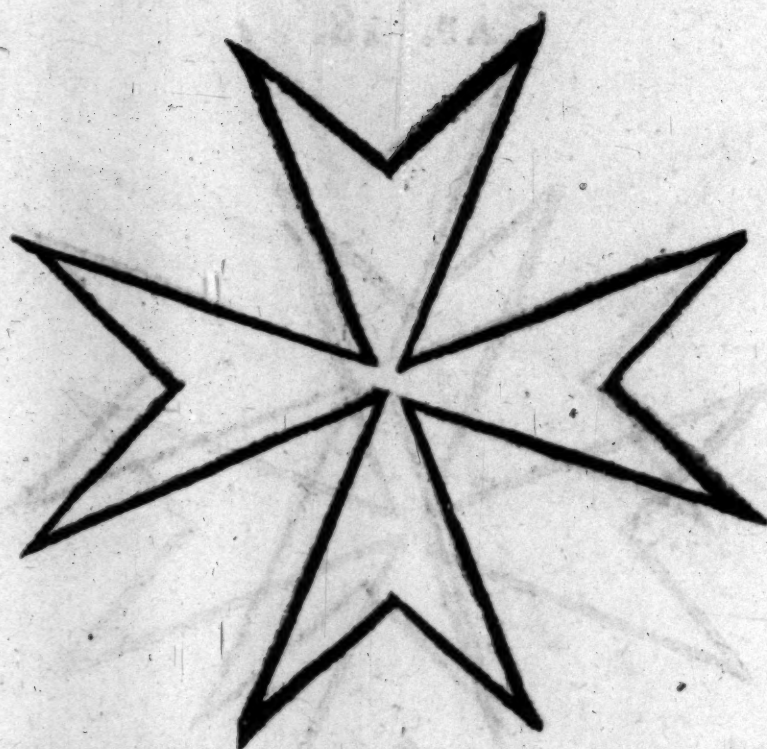
These Knights doo weare a red Crosse, and their Order begun about the same time that the *Knighthood of Calatrana* tooke beginning.

*Knights*



*Knights of Redemption.*

CAP. 17.



THESE Knights were erected in the Kingdome of *Aragon* by King *Iames*, who conquered the Islands *Maiorica* and *Minorica* in the yeare 1212.

Their garments are white, and thereon a blacke Crosse.

The office of these Knights is to redeeme prisoners, wherevpon they are called *Cauallieri della Redentione*.

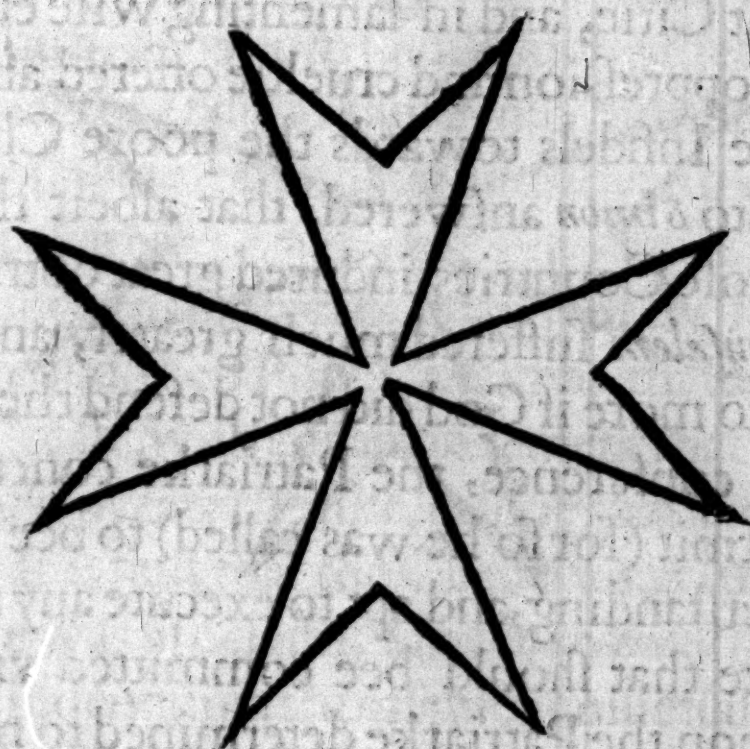
The chiefe Gouvernour of them remaineth at *Bercellona*.

*Knights*



*Knights of S. Iohn in Ierusalem : of some called Knights of the Rhodes : and now, Knights of Malta.*

CAP. 18.



**I**T is written (with what warrant I know not) that at the Citie of *Amiens* in *Picardie* a Prouince of *France*, there was borne a certein Gentleman, who in his childhood had been brought vp in learning : and being growne to mans estate, disposed himselfe to the exercise of Armes, and therein long time continued. Afterwards, hauing attained riper yeares, he despised the world, and framed himselfe to a solitarie life, as one fullie resolved to liue in contemplation vnscene of any but God alone. Hauing sometime remained in that solitarie sort, a sodeine desire he had to visite the Sepulcher where Christ was buried,



which shortlie after he did. And to the end he might with securitie passe the barbarous Nations, he apparelled himselfe like vnto a Phisition; by which meane without impediment he performed his iorney. Thus hauing passed the difficulties of trauell in diuers straunge Countries, he ariued at *Ierusalem*, and being there, fell into acquaintance with *Simon*, Patriarke of that Citie, and in lamenting wise enformed him of the oppression and crueltie offered and daylie vsed by the Infidels towards the poore Christians. Whereunto *Simon* answered, that albeit the Christians in those Countries indured great outrages, yet they of *Ierusalem* suffered much greater, and should be forced to more if God did not defend them.

By this conference, the Patriarke conceiued *Peter* the Hermit (for so he was called) to bee a man of good vnderstanding, and apt to execute any action of importance that should bee committed vnto him. Whereupon the Patriarke determined to make him a messenger vnto the Pope, vnto whom by letters he imparted the great calamitie and afflicted estate of the poore Christians inhabiting the Holy land.

*Peter* hauing receiued his instructions and letter of credence, returned into the West, first vnto the Pope, and after solicited other Princes: in such sort, and with so good successe, as by his perswasions, many great Kings and Potentates consented to take in hand the recouerie of the Holy land from the oppression of the Infidels, and some of them furnished that enterprize with men, some with monie, and some did goe in person. Among which number (as the chiefe) was *Robert Duke of Normandie*, sonne to King *William*



liam of England, Godfrey Duke of Lorayn, with two of his brethren called *Eustace* and *Baldwin*, *Hugh* surnamed the *Great* brother to the *French* King: with diuers other Princes, Dukes, Earles and Barons. Also thether went *Beomondo* Duke of *Calabria*, who for zeale to that seruice (or desire of honor) resigned his Dukedome vnto *Ruggiero* his brother, taking with him so many of his subiects as would voluntarilie followe him, of whom (with such other Capteines and Soldiers of *Italie* as came vnto him) he assembled more than twentie thousand, all choyce men & yong fit for the warre.

All things in this sort prepared for the iorney, *Vrban* the second (then Pope) sent vnto these Capteines a white Crosse, with commandement that al the Soldiers should weare the like, calling that enterprise *la Cruciata*. It is said, that the Christians, at such time as this warre was proclaimed in *Chiaramont* (a Citie of *Auernia*) indeuoured themselues vniuersallie to animate the Soldiers, and ioyned in generall praier for their good successe, giuing them meate, apparell and furniture, vnasked or required. Moreouer, those that were indebted, were forgiuen, and such as had been banished were pardoned. The women also (contrarie to their custome) willinglie and with much ioy consented their husbands and sonnes should passe in this enterprise, and for their furniture gaue them their Jewels, Cheines and monie. The *French* King likewise sent them great treasure, and gaue priuileges to the Soldiers lands and wiues in their husbands absence. And many great Princes and other Lords sold and impawned their patrimonies to further this ac-



tion. So as the Armie assembled for this holie enterprife, amounted vnto three hundred thousand footmen, and one hundred thousand horse, who presentlie marched towards *Constantinople*, where they passed the straight called *Bosphoro Tracio*, and landed at *Calcedonia*.

For the first enterprife they besieged *Nicea* in *Bitinia*, which within fiftie daies was yeelded: and the fourth of Iuly at the foote of certeine Mounteines neere vnto that Citie, the Christians fought a battell with a Turkish Armie, which in number exceeded ours, and thereat was present *Soliman* the Emperour of *Turkie* and *Persia*: but the Christians had victorie with the losse of two thousand men: but of the enemies were slaine fortie thousand.

This victorie gained, the Christians following their enterprife, within short time wonne an hundred Cities and Townes of accompt, & among them the great *Antiochia*, before which they begun the siege the 20. of October, and tooke it the last of May following, where they found *Corbona* King of *Persia*, and *Cassiano* Lord of *Antiochia*. Neere vnto that place in one other conflict were slaine more then an hundred thousand *Turkes*, with the losse of foure thousand of ours.

The cause of this victorie was (in that time of Superstition) imputed to the vertue of a bloudie Launce found in *Antiochia*, which they supposed to bee a Speare wherewith Christ was wounded on the Crosse. It was also said, that the *Turks* did see, or imagine to see (as they reported) another great Armie comming against them from the Mounteines, conducted



ducted by three Capteines mounted vppon three white horses, the beholding whereof occasioned their flight.

This victorie being had, a Nauie ariued frō *Genoa* and from *Venice*. Also with them came certeine ships conducted by one *Vymer* of *Bullein* in *Picardie*, a notable Pirate, who repenting his former life, determined to followe that honorable action.

The Christian forces thus increased, they marched towards *Ierusalem*, and besieged it. And notwithstanding the Citie was of great force, yet by Gods helpe and the valorous aduventure of the Christians, it was assaulted, and in the end yeelded. Anno 1099.

This Citie thus conquered, the said *Peter* (as the chiefe procurer of the enterprise) was highlie honored, and *Godfrey* Duke of *Lorayn* elected King of the Holy land.

But to returne vnto the originall of these Knights, I say, that somewhat before the Christians conquered the Citie of *Ierusalem*, they had obtained of the *Saracens* leaue to dwell neere vnto the Sepulcher of Christ, and there builded an house, calling it the Hospitall of Christians, whether all other Christians daile resorted. After that, the number of Christians increasing, they builded another house for women, calling it *S. Mary Magdalens*. And at length they made a third house, and called it *S. Iohn Baptists*, where for the keeping of good order they appoynted an Officer, whom they called Rector.

Sometime after, was elected vnto that Rectorship a Gentleman called *Gherardus*, who commaunded



that he, with all others of that house, should weare a white Crosse vpon a blacke garment, which was the originall of the Order, and euer since hath been vsed.

Afterwards one other Rector or great Master was elected, whose name was *Raimondus*, to whom authoritie was giuen, that he should gouerne and command all the Knights of this Order wheresoeuer they were dispersed.

Many yeares after, these Knights conquered the Ile of *Rhodi*, holden by the *Turkes* Anno 1308. which was the cause they were called Knights of *Rhodi*. And diuers Princes seeing them Martiallie enclined, gaue vnto them great lands and possessions: & they became greatlie esteemed for their seruice, chieflie against the said *Turkes*, and the *Soldan* King of *Egipt* and *Ierusalem*. The said Ile of *Rhodi* (during those Knights inhabited there) was foure times assaulted, yet by Gods helpe, with the valiancie of the Knights, it was defended. Then *Mahomet Ottoman* Emperour of *Turkie* Anno 1480. with an excessiue force of men and an hundred sailes of Gallies (conducted by a *Bassa* borne in *Greece*, discended of the rase of *Paleologhi* sometime Emperours of *Constantinople*) did besiege it: but after 89 daies of continuall batterie, they were forced to abandon the enterprise, and for their farewell in the last assault, the Knights slewe more then fortie thousand *Turkes*.

But in the yeare 1523. in the moneth of Ianuarie, the *Turkes* againe inuaded that Iland, and after three moneths siege preuailed: for the rest of Christendom neuer vouchsafed them either aide or reliefe.

Since



Since the losse of *Rhodi*, these Knights haue remained in the Iland of *Malta*, and often defended it against the enemies of Christendome, but chieflie in the yeare 1565.

The first erector of Statutes and rules for the gouernment of these Knights, was the said *Raimondus*, calling himselfe *Raimondo di Poggio, seruo di poveri di Christo, è custode dello spidale de San Giouanni Battista di Hierusalemme*.

No man might be receiued into this Knighthood, vntill he had prooued his gentilitie in presence of the great Master and other Knights.

Nor no man discended of a *Moore*, a *Iew*, or *Mahometan*, might bee admitted, although he were the sonne of a Prince.

And euerie Knight of this Order was sworne to fight for the Christian faith, doo iustice, defend the oppressed, relieue the poore, persecute the *Mahometans*, vse vertue, and protect widdowes and orphants.

Diuers other Articles there bee, but for that they are full of Superstition, I omit them.

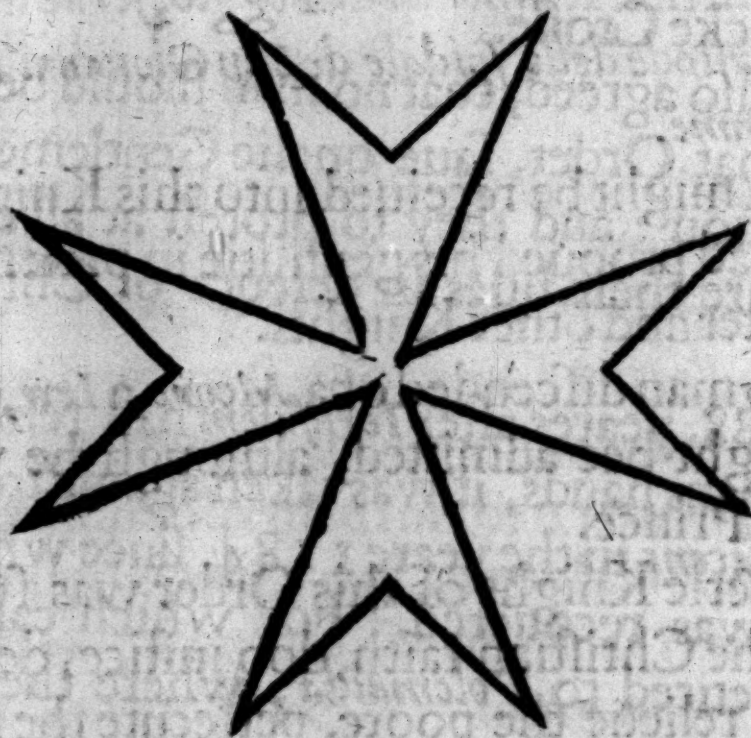
The



## The originall of the Knights

*Teutonici.*

CAP. 19.



**T**Hese Knights do not much varie from the former, for their custome is to intertein Pilgrimes, and at occasions to serue in warre.

The beginning of this Knighthood was a certeine *Almaine*, who after the taking of *Ierusalem* by the Christians (together with diuers others of that Nation) remained there. This *Almaine* being exceeding rich and married, kept a franke and liberall house, relieuing all passengers and Pilgrimes that trauailed to *Ierusalem*: in so much as his house became as an Hospitall or place of ordinarie accessse. At length he builded neere vnto it a faire Church, which (according to the vse of that time) he did dedicate to our Ladie.

Not



Not long after, many Christians resorting thether, as well for loue of the Christian religion, as to visite the sicke, they resolved to erect a fraternitie, and hauing chosen a great Master to bee Gouvernour, ordeined that euerie man of that assotiation, should bee apparelled in white, and vpon their vppermost garment weare a blacke Crosse.

It was also agreed, that no man should bee admitted into that Order, saue onelic Gentlemen of the *Dutch Nation* : and they to protest at all occasions to aduenture their liues in defence of Christes Gospel.

About 88. yeares after *Ierusalem* had remained in the Christians hands, it was taken againe from them by the *Saracens* in the yeare 1184. since which time it neuer was recouered. For which cause these Knights retired to *Tolemaida*, where they remained.

At length *Tolemaida* being also taken by the *Saracens*, they returned into *Germanie* their naturall countrie. Where after some short abode (as loathing rest and idlenes) they went vnto *Frederigo* the second then Emperour in the yeare 1220. to let his Maiestie vnderstand that the people of *Prussia* vsed incursions vpon the confines of *Saxonie*, adding that those people were barbarous, Idolaters without the knowledge of God, and therefore besought his Maiestie to grant them leaue to make warre vpon them at their owne charges, yet with condition that whatsoeuer they gained, his Maiestie would giue the same to the maintenance of that Order, and they the Knights to be the Lords thereof for euer.



The Emperour allowing of that suite, presentlie granted them the Countrie, and vnder his seale confirmed the gift.

These Knights by this donation much encouraged, forthwith tooke Armes, and within short space subdued al that Prouince, and then passed the riuer of *Vistola*, and conquered other people, who became their subiects, and were made Christians.

Within short space after, these Knights builded diuers Churches, and among them some Cathedrall Temples, making them places of residence for Bishops, who were also inioyned to weare the habit of the Order.

Neere vnto the riuer *Vistola* was a great Oake, where these Knights builded the first Castle and Towne, which with time was encreased and called *Borgo di Santa Maria*, where is now the chiefe Church apperteining to this Order: thereunto belongeth so great riches and reuenues, as these Knights may both for men and monie compare with diuers Princes.

This Countrie of *Prussia* is great, and much thereof bounded by the riuer *Vistola*: and is also confined by *Sarmatia*, the *Massageti*, and *Polonia*.

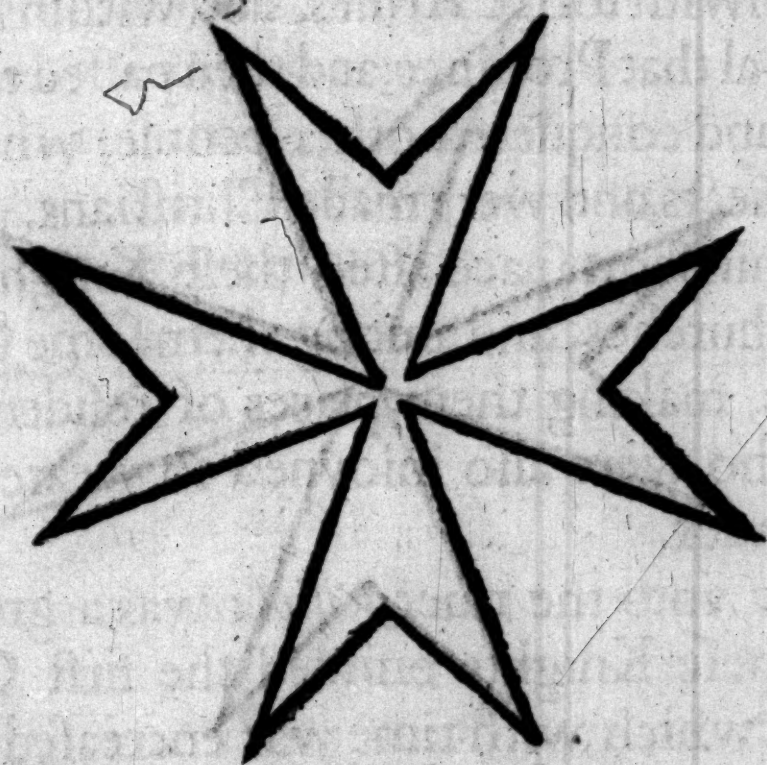
These Knights are also Lords of *Liuania*, which was likewise by them brought to the faith of Christianity, and is with Christians now inhabited.

*Knights*



*Knights of the Sepulcher.*

CAP. 20.



**T**His Knighthood is now extinct, or rather con-  
ioyned vnto the Order of *Malta*.

The Ensigne belonging to these Knights was two  
red Crosses.



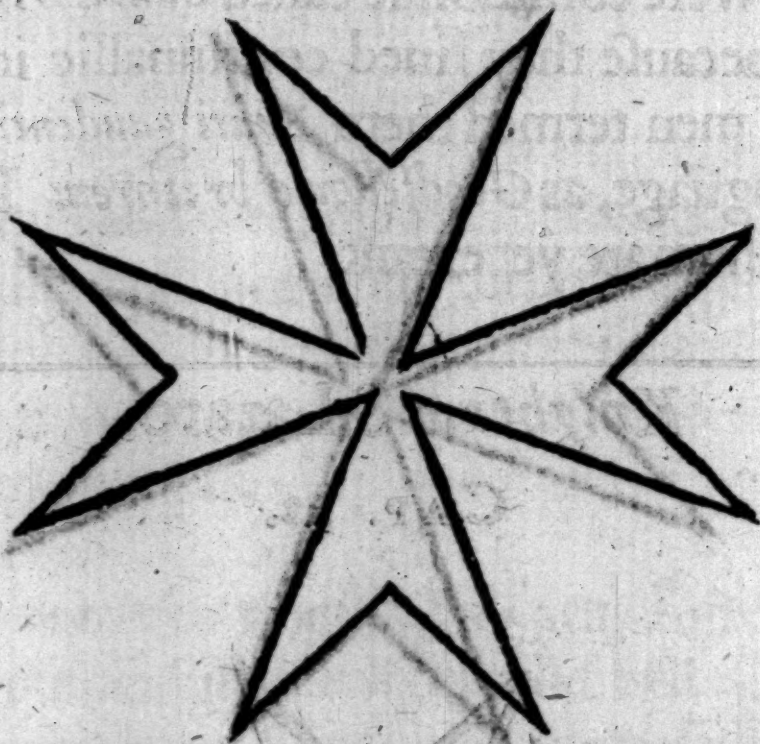
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*Knights*



## Knights of S. Mary.

CAP. 21.



**I**N the life of Pope *Vrban* the fourth (at which time was great warre among the Princes of *Italie*) certaine rich Gentlemen of *Bologna* and *Modona* desiring to eschue the present troubles, and bee exempt from publique charges, desired of that Pope to permit them to liue in contemplation, and erect a newe Order of religious Knighthood, which for money they obtained, calling themselves Knights of *Sainct Mary*.

The habit of this Order was verie pompous, and thereupon a red Crosse wrought with gold round about.

They were speciallie inhibited to weare gold in their spurres and horse harnesse.

They



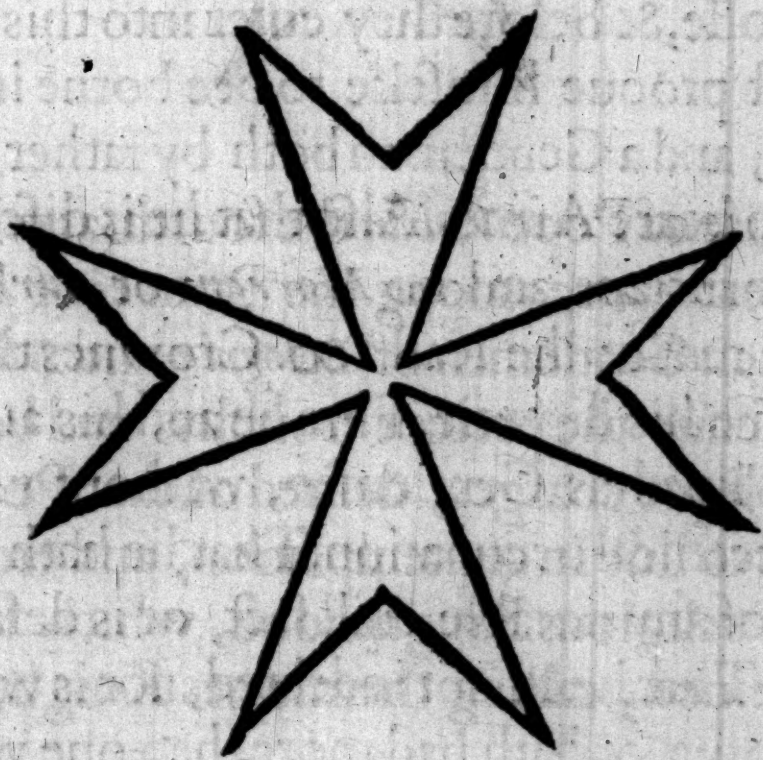
They made profession to fight against the Infidels, and all others that offended Iustice: Notwithstanding, they liued euer at home in rest with their wiues and children.

They were commonlie called *Caualeri di Madonna*: but because they liued continuallie in ease and pleasure, men termed them *Frati gaudenti*: as much in our language, as *Goodfellowe brethren*. It may bee some of them are yet extant.

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*Knights of S. Lazaro.*

CAP. 22.



THEse Knights of this Order doo pleade great antiquitie, saying they were in the time of *S. Basil*, and their profession hath been confirmed by sondrie Popes. They also affirme, that *Fredericke* the Emperour surnamed *Barbarossa*, gaue them great possessions



in *Sicilia, Calabria, Puglia, and Terra di Lauoro*: And to those lands diuers Popes did adde much. Notwithstanding, time that weareth all things away, did also consume these riches, and the Order well neere extinct, till of late yeares *Pius quartus* the Pope did reuiue it: who made *Gianotto Castiglione* a noble Gentleman of *Milan* great Master.

These Knights doo professe to bee obedient vnto their great Master, and other Officers of the Order. They promise also to liue chaste, or at the least continent and content with one wife. Also to bee charitable, and liberall, chieflie to poore people infected with leprosie.

Moreouer, euerie Knight promiseth to weare a greene Crosse, & before they enter into this Knight-hood must prooue himselfe to bee borne in lawfull wedlocke, and a Gentleman both by father and mother, and to beare Armes. Also that he is discended of ancient Christians, and no *Morrano* or *Turke*. That he hath of rent at the least 200. Crownes therewith to mainteine his dignitie. That he and his auncestors haue euer liued as Gentlemen, without vse of any base or mecanical occupation. That he hath not been suspected of any notable euill fact, or is defamed for any vice. That he be not indebted, nor is wedded to any widdowe, or hath had more than one wife. But besides these passable protestations, he must vnder-take to say fiue and twentie *Pater nosters*, and so manie *Aue marias*, with other Superstitious things not worthie the writing.

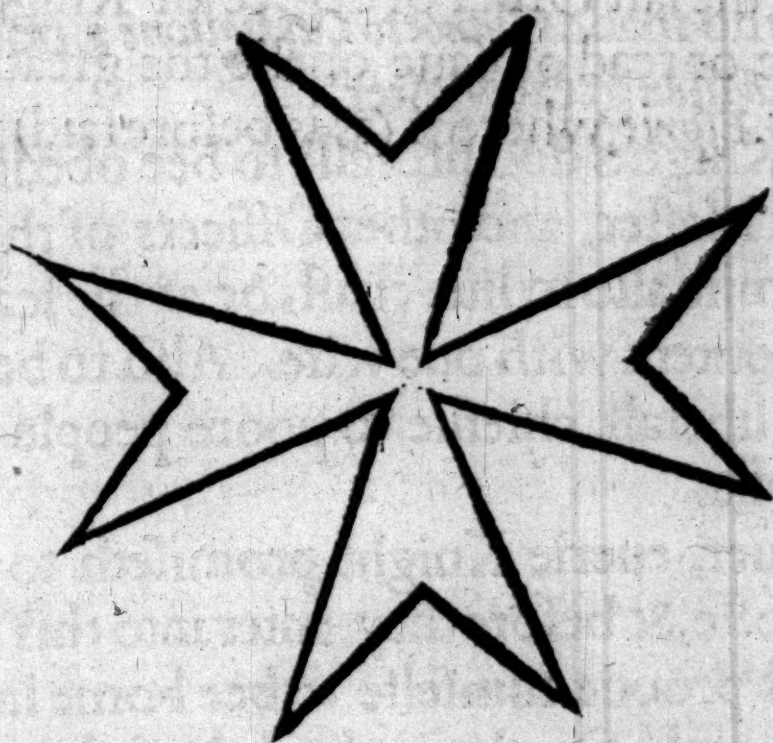
This Order haue of late time been much fauoured by the Dukes of *Sauoy*.

*Knights*



*Knights of S. Steffano.*

CAP. 23.



**I**N the yeare 1561. *Cosimo* Duke of *Florence* and *Siena*, hauing setled his gouernment, and liuing in peaceable estate, erected this religious Order of Knighthood, calling those that entered thereunto *Cauallieri di San Steffano*. To these Knights he gaue a red Crosse bordered about with gold.

The Statutes annexed vnto this Order, are not vnlike to those apperteining to the Order of *Malta*: sauing that these haue libertie to marrie.

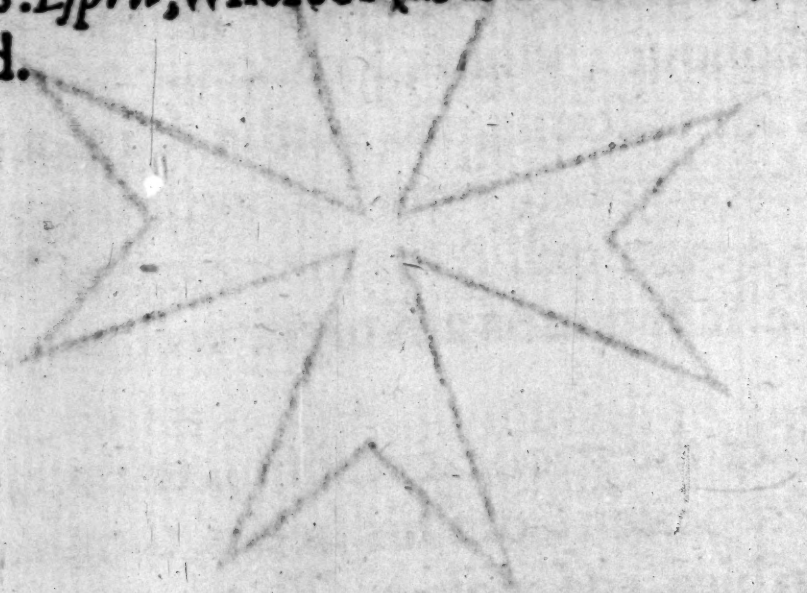
The chiefe place of their resiance is the Citie of *Pisa*, where the Duke prepared them a Church, and builded for them a Pallace wherein to lodge. And because neere to that Citie is a Hauen fit to receiue the



the Gallies wherein these Knights should serue, it seemed good to that Prince to settle them there.

The Duke himselfe and his successors is great Master of this Order: and vnder him are diuers other Officers of reputation.

This is the last Order or degree of Knights that I haue seene or read of, saue onelie the great Knight-hood of *S. Esprit*, whereof (as is before said) I am not enformed.



The



*The Ceremonies in the degradation of Knights.*

CAP. 24.

**I**T seemeth that the degradation of Knights hath been vsed onelie for offences of greatest reproach and dishonour : which I conceiue partlie by the rarenes of such actions, and partlie for that the men bereft of that dignitie, were not onelie degraded, but also by lawe executed. As in the raigne of King *Edward* the 4. it appeared a Knight was degraded in this sort.

First, after the publication of his offence, his gilt spurres were beaten from his heeles, then his sword taken from him, and broken. That being done, euerie peece of his Armour was brused, beaten, and cast aside. After all which disgraces, he was beheaded.

In like manner, *Andrew* of *Hekela* Knight and Earle of *Cardoyl*, was in this sort disgraded. He being apprehended, was by the Kings commandement brought before Sir *Anthony Lucy*, Anno. 1322. apparelled in all the robes of his estate as an Earle and a Knight, and so led vnto the place of Iudgement. Being thether come, Sir *Anthony Lucy* said vnto him these words. *First thou shalt lose the Order of Knight-hood by which thou hadst all thine honour: and further, all worship vppon thy bodie bee brought to nought.* Those wordes pronounced, Sir *Anthony Lucy* commanded a knaue to hewe the Knights spurres from his heeles,  
Y and



and after caused his sword to bee broken ouer his head. That done, hee was dispoyled of his furred Tabord, of his Hood, of his furred Cotts, and of his Girdle. Then Sir *Anthony* saide vnto him these wordes: *Andrew, now art thou no Knight, but a knaue, and for thy treason the King doth will thou shalt bee hanged.*

This manner of proceeding in the degradation of these two Knights, I found recorded in an auncient booke of Master *Garters*, written in the selfe same words that are here expressed.

*The Authors Intention.*

CAP. 25.



Lbeit the whole scope and intent of this booke is to discourse the poynts of Honor and dignities apperteining vnto Armes; yet for not being mistaken in my meaning, I haue thought good to say, that the commendation due vnto learning is of no lesse desert, thā that which belongeth to Martiall merit. And indeed very rarelie doth any man excell in Armes, that is vtterlie ignorant in letters: for by how much one Capteine is more learned than another, by so much is he more capable of gouernment in Armes, and ought bee the better reputed. For who without learning can conceiue the ordering & disposing of men, in marching, incamping, or fighting, without *Arithmetique*? Or who can comprehend the ingenious fortifications or instruments apt for offence or defence of Townes, or passing of waters, vnlesse he hath knowledge of *Geometrie*?



*metrie?* Or how may Sea seruice be performed without skill of the *Latitude* of the place, by the *Pole*, and the *Longitude* by other *Starres*: which must be learned of the *Astronomers*. Yea learning is (no doubt) of such excellencie and necessitie, that no Common weale without it, is well gouerned. What State can bee well ordered, vnlesse the *Gouernours* or *Magistrates* haue studied *Philosophie*, chieflie that part which entreateth of manners, sith it onlie enformeth, first how euerie man should gouerne himselfe. Secondlie, how he should guide his owne familie. And thirdlie, teacheth how a *Citie* or *Common weale* may bee ordered and gouerned, as well in times of warre as peace: which moued *Plato* to say: *That happy is the Common weale where either the Prince is a Philosopher, or where a Philosopher is the Prince.* And although it cannot be denied that *Empires* and *Kingdomes* are both wonne and kept as well by force and manhood, as by wisedome and policie; yet is the chiefe of that policie attained vnto by learning. For in all sorts of gouernments the wiser haue authoritie ouer the rude and vnlearned. And as in euerie priuate house or towne the most discreet and best experienced are preferred, so in all Nations they that bee most ciuill, learned and politicke, doo find meanes to commaund the rest, notwithstanding in force they bee inferiour. The experience hereof was apparantlie scene in the *Grecians* and *Romanes*, among whom, like as wisedome and learning was most esteemed, so their *Empires* were spred furthest and continued longest. And to prooue that excellencie of learning in those Nations preuailed against others equall with them



in manhood and courage, wee will vse this onlie example. That albeit this realme before any conquest thereof, was (no doubt) inhabited with people of great courage; yet for that they were vnciuill, or at the least without policie and learning, they were brought vnder the subiection of other Nations: as the *Saxons* were last by the *Normanes*, & the *Romanes* by the *Saxons* before that, and the *Brittaines* by the *Romanes* first of all. And albeit diuers men haue been and yet are, both wise and politick without learning, and some also that be learned (in respect of worldlie policie) be verie simple: yet I say, that such wise men should haue been more excellent, if they had been learned; and the other more simple and foolish, if they had been vtterlie without learning.

Exercise in warre maketh not euerie man fit to be a Capteine, though he followeth Armes neuer so long; and yet is there none so vnapt for the warre, but with vse is more perfect, and the rather if he bee learned. For if experience doth helpe, then I am sure that learning helpeth much more to the encrease of wisedome. We wil then determine, that experience, because it doth further wisedome, may be called the father thereof, and memorie the mother; because she doth nourish and preserue it: for in vaine should experience bee sought for, if the same were not held in remembrance. Then if both experience and memorie be holpen & increased by learning, it must needes bee confessed, that experience helpeth wit. Euerie man seeth that the experience of an old man maketh him wiser than the yong, because he hath seen more; yet an old man seeth onlie things in his owne time:  
but



but the learned man seeth not onlie his owne age and experience, but whatsoeuer hath been in long time past, yea since the first writer tooke pen in hand, and therefore must needs knowe more than the vnlearned man, bee he neuer so olde; for no memorie can compare with writing. Besides that, if the vnlearned doo forget any thing seene, hardlie shall he reduce it to memorie againe: whereas the learned man by turning his booke, hath meane to call to remembrance what he happeneth to forget. Therefore, as he that liueth foure score yeares must needs haue more experience than he that liueth fortie: so he that seeth in bookes the accidents of a thousand yeares, knoweth more than he that by liuing one hundred yeares could attaine vnto. In like manner, if he that trauaileth many Nations, is of more experience than others of like age that neuer went from his natiue countrie: so he that is learned, by *Cosmographie*, histories, and other learning, seeth the manner and vsage of euerie Countrie in the world, yea of many moe than is possible for one man in all his life to trauell through: and of these he trauaileth, much better doth he learne, by small abode there, than another by longer experience that is altogether vnlearned. By this learning we may also conceiue the scituation, temperature, and qualitie of euerie Countrie throughout the world. Also through the science of *Astronomie*, wee knowe the course of the Planets aboue, and their Aspects and Coniunctions; which the learned men in times past attained vnto by long conference and obseruation; but we by perusing their bookes onlie may learne it: yet without that helpe we could neuer. To conclude,



there is nothing either of profite or necessitie for mans life, but by learning is taught more perfectlie, than it can bee compassed by experience, or other meane whatsoeuer.

But leauing the commodities of learning to be discoursed by those that are learned indeed, this onlie I say, that the endeouour of Gentlemen ought be either in Armes or learning, or in them both. And in my poore conceit, hardlie deserueth he any title of honor or gentilitie, that doth not take pleasure in the one or the other. For as no liuing creature is borne to idleness, so is there no doubt but God and nature hath destined each one for some commendable businesse. And like as base occupations are fit for folke of base fortune, so valiant and vertuous minds, in actions of honor and vertue should be employed. And if in this earthlie life any thing there bee that meriteth fame or fauour, surely the same is a vertuous life and valerous endeouour: whereof *Iuuenall* saith:

*Res gerere & captos ostendere ciuibus hostes*

*Attingit solium Iouis & caelestia tentat.*

*Principibus placuisse viris non vltima laus est.*

The



The Authors Conclusion.

CAP. 26.

**W**E haue said in our former discourse, that no man of any qualitie or fortune, is borne or destined to ease, idlenes, or vnprofitable occupation: we haue likewise touched the commodities of such learnings, as are required in actions both ciuill and Martiall, whereby may appeare, how necessarie it is for all Gentlemen to endeuour themselves in the one and the other, as those knowledges whereby men are made worthie of honorable title. Notwithstanding, through corrupt custome or bad education, the greater part of our English Gentilitie is not onclie ignorant what honor and vertue meaneth, but consequentlie disdaineth (or at the least wise lightly regardeth) those labours whereby they might and ought become comfortable to friends, and seruiceable to their Prince and Countrie: which haplie moued the Poet to forewarne fathers to haue care of childrens education, saying:

*Gratum est quod patriæ ciuem populoque dedisti,  
Si facis vt patriæ sit idoneus, vtilis agris,  
Vtilis & bellorum & pacis rebus agendis.*

And in continuing the consideration of this matter, I am occasioned to be right soric, that our English youth doo not onlie earnestlie affect vaine pleasures and improfitable pastimes as recreation; but also vse them with daylie labour as their chiefe businesse and  
speciall



speciall profession. And to speake plainlie, I am more then halfe perswaded, that a great sort of our Gentlemen (chieflie those that haue had their nurture at home with their owne ignorant parents) doo take more comfort to be called good Faulknors or expert Woodmen, than either skilfull Souldiers or learned Scollers. Yet who so obserueth, shall finde, that the same men by secret instinct of gentle nature, doo not a little glorie in the auncient badges, titles and seruices of their auncesters, supposing those passed merites (supported with riches) ought without further sufficiencie, make them more worthie than others, whose owne proper vertue and labour haue indeed deserued much honor. But as no fowle flieth with the wings of another, nor no horse doth runne on legges not his owne: so ought no man be praised or admired for the vertue or good merite of another. And albeit the fame of auncesters honor, may (for some short space) mainteine a certaine hope of vertue, (chieflie where no vice appeareth) yet time, which doth distinguish things indeed, from those that onlie appeare, will also (like vnto counterfeit mettall) bewray the want or worth of euery man, and for such a one he shall be knowne & esteemed, of what name, house, parentage or predecessor so euer, he is descended. It therefore behoueth euerie Gentleman well borne to imbrace the loue of vertue, and in the actions thereof to employ the course of his whole life. For what can be more pleasing to a generous minde, than the studie of wisdom? whereby to knowe good from euill, and truth from falshood, the one to be followed, the other eschewed.

What



What may be more blessed than Iustice? whereby we refraine from all iniuries, and giue vnto euerie one that which vnto him apperteineth. What is more noble than Fortitude? which contemneth all worldlie accidents, and with inuincible courage fighteth for equitie and right. And what is more fit or better bebecoming a noble personage, than Temperance? which teacheth comelines and moderation, gouerning the passions and perturbations of minde, to the quietnes of mans life, and contentation of others. These with other vertues on them depending, haue from base birth and poore parentage, brought many to great title and dignitie. And as those vertuous endeuours haue aduanced them, so the discontinuance of like delights, did vtterlie deface that honor in their posteritie. Vertue I say, is that which from meane estate hath euer led the louers thereof to great reputation and glorie. Among infinite examples (omitting men of meaner fortune, yet worthie much honor) we haue *Agathocles, Eumenes, Pertinax, Dioclesian, Valentinian*, with other Emperours, Kings and Capteines. Of like fortune in birth was *Marcus Tullius, Cato, Horace*, with diuers most notable learned men: yea *Socrates* himselfe (who by the Oracle of *Apollo* was iudged the wisest man aliue) had no great parentage. And *Iulius Cesar*, that both for Armes and learning excelled, and was the first Emperour, aspired from lowe degree to excessiue glorie. Notwithstanding, through protraction of time, and the degeneration of those mens posteritie, not onelie their owne houses and names are vanished, but also the honor and renowne of the Nations where they

Z

liued,



liued, is vtterlie decaied and extinguished. Which the Christian Poet *Palingenius* expressed well in these verses.

*Nempe diu res nulla manet, nempe omnia semper  
Deteriora solent fieri, in peiusque referri,  
Naturæ imperio, & fatorum lege perenni:  
Deinde iterum ex alio fætu instaurata rinassi.*

Thus haue we heard the meanes of aspiring vnto Honor, and by what occasion the same is lost or decaied. But well I wot, that vnto these reasons and examples produced to incite our English youth, they answered, that were they sure to attaine vnto the least part of that fortune these great personages and many others their inferiours haue come vnto, then would they not feare to aduenture their labour and liues to the vttermost: but because the paines and perills are certeine, and the successe doubtfull, they thinke it more wisedome to Hunt and Hawke at home, than hazard their bodies abroad, or beate their braines about that which haplie neuer shall turne them to profite. This sillie allegation compounded of sloath and pusillanimitie, may easilie be refelled, but slowlie followed. Notwithstanding, (for that I am vsed to lose my labour) I will replie thereunto thus: That seeing no reward is due befor desert, and that Honor is the recompence of vertue, it may not be looked for vntill some vertuous testimonie bee first shewed. What Soldier is so simple, as entring into pay will at the first day looke to bee made a Capteine, or haue promise within fewe yeares to become a Generall? What Scoller



Scoller will at his first comming to studie demaund the degrees due vnto Arte, or that shortlie after (with little learning) will challenge to bee a Doctor? Yet true it is, that sometimes the simplest Archer doth hit the marke, which many an excellent shooter misseth: notwithstanding, hardlie can any wise man bee brought to lay monie on his side, or hope of such successe. Euen so, in the attaining of Honor, although fauour and fortune oftentimes preferreth the vnworthie, yet the true way and most likelie meane thereunto, is true vertue and industrious life. Wherefore concluding I say, that euery noble and magnanimous mind, doth not so much couet the rewards of vertue, as it taketh delight in vertue it selfe. As the same Poet saith:

*Propter se virtus petitur, non propter honorem,  
Ipsa licet proprie, ac vere, mereatur honorem.*

FINIS.

